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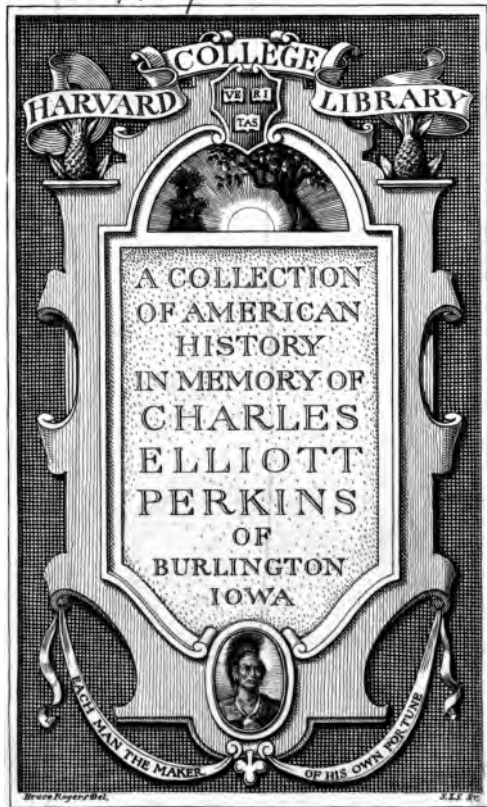
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PRACTICAL
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THE
PRACTICAL POLITICIAN

A DIGEST OF READY INFORMATION

AS TO THE

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES

BETWEEN THE

GREAT NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES

THEIR RISE AND PROGRESS, WITH
PAST AND PRESENT ISSUES.

ALSO A

LIST OF THE PRESIDENTS AND THEIR
CABINETS, THE VICE PRESIDENTS,

THE PROCEDURE IN THE MATTER OF ELEC-
TION OF PRESIDENTS, SENATORS,
CONGRESSMEN, ETC.

WITH A REVIEW OF THE

LOCAL POLITICAL SITUATION.

By S. A. KENNER.

STAR PRINTING COMPANY, SALT LAKE CITY.

1892.

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**CHARLES ELLIOTT PERKINS
MEMORIAL COLLECTION**

PREFACE.

No excuse will be looked for as a prefatory or other accompaniment to this little volume, and certainly none will be offered. To say that it fills, or is designed to fill, the traditional "long-felt want" would be to fairly state the case in part; for that there is need, and much need of a political instructor in Utah—one whose words will be those of simplicity and whose conclusions will at least approach a settlement, of the propositions discussed, will scarcely be denied.

Perhaps more noticeably in Utah than elsewhere, the people are confronted with an altogether new era—one greatly at variance with all of those preceding it. Formerly the people here had but little use for politics, because the situation was such that none were* required; it was simply a question of the supremacy of those holding to a certain ecclesiastical view, or of those opposed to or at least not in consonance with such view. As everything and all organizations must, for the sake of convenience, have a name, the former of these was called the "People's party" and the latter the "Liberal party," but as a matter of fact they were not parties, in the strict meaning of the term, if at all—as herein suggested, they were just disputants over a social problem. This state of affairs, as the overwhelming majority in Utah now believe, is with and of the past, and political controversialism as it exists elsewhere has taken its place. The Liberal party, notwithstanding, so far refuses to join in

*If it is anywhere justifiable to speak of politics in the plural number, it ought to be here where this work is produced. Within a year or so we have had in the field the Democratic, Republican, Liberal, Citizens' and Independent Workingmen's parties. From one extreme to the other, truly!

IV.

the new movement, claiming that the hand of the ecclesiastical authorities is still visible in the manipulation of the local governmental machinery; but with this exception we are Democrats and Republicans here as elsewhere.

The change came all at once when it did come, and it is not straining at a point to say that to a great many of the people it came somewhat "like a thief in the night;" that is, they were not altogether prepared for it, and yet it did not come a moment too soon. There had been nothing in their past experience, except by reading and talking, to prepare them for the "new deal;" in short, they found themselves with their former and all-along political anchorage gone, and that which supplanted it coming as an untried quantity—welcome, of course, as all other strangers are within their gates, but still practically unknown. Under the circumstances, I think they have done very well for a beginning, and are quite excusable for not being skilled politicians at the outset. It is with the hope of saving them some little labor in the way of research, of providing them with a ready reference as it were, that this volume has been brought forth.

The study of politics is as commendable as that of any other subject affecting our temporal welfare. I know that in the minds of a great many the word "politician" is closely and perhaps inseparably associated with "rascal," "knave," "schemer," and so on. This is because here and there a rascal who makes politics his business is unmasked, and because it is an occupation which admits of a good deal of underhanded work. The same thing in a lesser degree, perhaps, may be said of any profession and many of the trades. The fact is, a man can be as honest, upright and patriotic in the field of politics as in any other field, and the great majority of those who attain to eminence in it are as herein described, popular prejudice to the contrary notwithstanding. It is a calling which depends more

largely upon human understanding and civilized methods than any other, the law alone—which it resembles in some respects—excepted.

We have it on no less an authority than Emerson that—

Parties are founded on instincts that appear better guides to their own humble aims than the sagacity of their leaders. They have nothing perverse in their origin, but rudely mark some real and lasting relation. We might as wisely reprove the east wind or the frost as a political party whose members, for the most part, could give no account of their position, but stand for the defense of those interests in which they find themselves. Our quarrel begins with them when they quit this deep natural ground at the bidding of some leader and, obeying personal considerations, throw themselves into the maintenance and defense of points nowise belonging to their system. A party is perpetually corrupted by personality. Whilst we absolve the association from dishonesty, we cannot extend them same charity to their leaders. They reap the rewards of the docility and zeal of the masses on which they trade. Ordinarily, our parties are parties of circumstances, and not of principle; as, the planting interest is in conflict with the commercial; the party of capitalists, with that of operatives; parties which are identical in moral character and which can easily change ground, with each other in the support of many of their measures.

As in most other cases, it is the abuse, not the use, of politics that is disreputable. Its use leads to a better understanding of the functions of government and the citizen's relation thereto, of the powers and limitations of makers, administrators and expounders of law, and consequently enlarges the view of his own duties and prerogatives. It is not stating it too strongly to say that no man can be a perfect citizen without a knowledge of at least the rudiments of the political structure to which he contributes support. He need not make it his constant study by day nor his un-failing dream by night, need not of necessity make it a business or even permit it to turn his mind from that which is his business, his dependence for support or prosperity; but, he can and should be thoroughly "posted," should know the right and the wrong of all political things directly or incidentally affecting him or those depending upon him.

VI.

I take pleasure in bearing testimony to the fact that the people of Utah, as a rule, learn well what they learn at all. They do not cross a stream till they arrive at it, but are not addicted to tarrying long on its banks. This means that our political status will not hereafter be weak, faulty or inefficient. Those among us who have the ability to "command the applause of listening senates" are neither few nor far between. Some of these are well developed and others are coming on. The physical and economic history of our Territory is conspicuous among current subjects of surpassing interest, and it is a fair prediction that its political future will also stand out as brightly and conspicuously as that of any commonwealth anywhere. So mote it be.

In preparing this volume, personal predilections (I am a Democrat) have been set aside and the information and comments herein contained placed upon a strictly non-partisan basis. It is designed to be as useful to Republicans as to those of my inclining, and to the independents, or those whose preferences have not yet matured, as to any others. Everything is condensed as much as possible and in every case is, I believe, entirely accurate.

With so much by way of introduction of the book, I confidently "pass it along."

Respectfully,

S. A. KENNER.

CHAPTER I.

THE NATIONAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

The United States is a Federal Republic, that is, a country in which the will of the people is the supreme law and every part is an integral portion of the whole.

Blackstone, in his Commentaries, impresses it upon the student of law as one of his first duties to cherish an affectionate loyalty to the sovereign; adapted to our land, this means an inextinguishable preference for the system of government above outlined, and unconditional fealty to the Government itself. The politician's education and practices would be seriously defective if not actually bad did they not rest soundly upon the foundation named; above and beyond all preference for the methods by which our national affairs are or may be administered, should securely exist an impregnable and undying regard for the Nation itself. In other words, the politician should be subsidiary to the patriot. Partisan differences thus resolve themselves into their proper shape—conflicting means to gain a common end.

At the head of our Republic are:

1.—The President, through whom (constructively)

the laws are placed in operation. He is surrounded by a retinue of eight advisers, known as his Cabinet;

2—Congress, by whom the laws are made;

3—The Supreme Court, by whom the laws are tested.

These comprehend all the functions and powers of the Government in its civil capacity, and the different States are modeled after it.

The Territories (now happily few in number) have no actual sovereignty, the show of self-control manifested by them at elections and in their Legislatures amounting to simply conditional rules of conduct, these being subject to different conditions in different places, but all subject to the will of the General Government, which exercises exclusive control over all our soil not buttressed by State lines. Nor do the decisions of the Territorial Judiciary—themselves appointed by the National Government—amount to a finality except in such cases as the latter power has permitted it to be so, and even this can be changed at any time.

It is thus seen that all Territories occupy an anomalous position, especially when we remember that this is a land consecrated to freedom and based upon popular sovereignty; but our own Territory is more "out of plumb" than any of the others, since its Governor has a power which that of either of the others has not—the refusal to assent to enactments by the Legislature is conclusive; and we have in addition a

Commission, also appointed by the President, in charge of election and districting affairs.

Those of a more optimistic and sentimental cast who see in the Territories only inchoate States, or commonwealths occupying merely an inferior degree of sovereignty, must make their observations through a glass brightly. A subjugated province in which the customary legal, social and commercial rights are not withheld, is the nearest approach to such a condition; for, while the hand of the General Government is not specially oppressive, the fact that thousands of as good and true men as ever lived have no participation at all in the selection of those who administer that Government, no share whatever in making the laws to which they give first allegiance, and but indirectly have a voice in their local regulations, is too greatly at variance with progressive Americanism and the genius of our institutions to encourage or greatly prolong genuine loyalty. If such social features exist in any place as would make Statehood an unsafe or improper condition, by all means let such features be obliterated, as was done with the South immediately after the war; and then, when the necessary qualifications for State sovereignty exist, admission to the Union should be obligatory upon the President and Congress, not a matter to be dealt with in accordance with their pleasure or, as is sometimes the case, their prejudices, as things are and have been all along. The amount of population, the

degree of wealth, the ratio of illiteracy and other questions, amount to neither opening the door nor shutting it when the dependency asks to be received, only so far as such matters may impress Congress favorably or unfavorably.

Each Territory has a Delegate in the House of Representatives, but except for the personal influence which he may be able to wield, he is almost a non-entity. He can speak on matters affecting his Territory and receives the same salary as his associates (\$5,000 a year and mileage), but in no other respect is he officially their equal.

When a Territory is once admitted to the Union, it cannot be relegated to its former position. It is then equal in dignity and power, proportionate to its population, to any other State. Nor can it actually or passively withdraw from the noble family it has become a part of; it must take its part in all national affairs, assist in the common defense and pay its proportion of any general burden imposed or accruing. More, the paternal hand of the National Government being withdrawn, it must pay its own expenses. Some there be who claim to see in this last item an argument in favor of the Territorial system, but let us hope none of the readers of this book will take so cramped, short-sighted, unpatriotic or mercenary a view of the situation. To be in possession of Statehood is, to right-minded and law-abiding people, to be AMERICAN CITIZENS in the fullest and freest sense

of the term, and that means to be at least the equal of kings.

CHAPTER II.

THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.—THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

Every fourth year—this is one of them—the people in the different States go through the solemn and majestic performance of choosing Electors, who in turn choose the President and Vice President. We often hear of So-and-so having carried such a State for the former office, and while this is practically correct it is theoretically wrong. The intention of the framers of the Constitution was clearly to take the choice out of the hands of the people and vest it in a body of men chosen by the people, those so chosen to be a deliberative and executive body, styled in their aggregate capacity the Electoral College. This was, as hereafter set out, a concession to the Hamiltonian system of government, the supposition being of course that only men of station, ability and influence would be made Electors and that they would naturally select two of their own kind for the highest offices. This question soon resolved itself into a more representative shape

through the organization and growth of practical politics; that is, the *form* was preserved, but it became an unwritten law that Electors should vote for the men nominated by their respective parties, and they have done so with one or two exceptions* ever since. Of course the conventions which place these Electors in nomination make a selection of men well known first of all as staunch partisans, who will vote, if elected, for the candidates of that particular party, already nominated, and thus have the sovereign citizens measurably reduced the chances for a sovereign of another character. To betray the trust reposed in one as an Elector would not subject the person so betraying to a criminal or any other prosecution, for there is no law against it; but he would likely receive treatment much more rigorous and long continued, in that he would be looked upon and treated as a second Benedict Arnold, and not only political but most probably social ostracism would be his portion for life. Is not this a striking exemplification of the rule of the common people in spite of the actual restraints designed for them by the founders?

Each State is entitled to as many Electors as it has Senators and Representatives,† combined, in Con-

*A noted case was that of the contest of 1872, which resulted in the re-election of General Grant. The Democratic candidate—Horace Greeley—died before the Electoral College met and the votes belonging to him were cast variously, though many of the Electors kept their implied contract and voted for him anyway.

†See next chapter—"Senators and Representatives."

gress. Each has the same number of Senators—two—while the number of Representatives varies in accordance with the population, but a State is entitled to one in any event. The Electors are nominated by the different party conventions in the same manner that other officers are nominated, but the manner of their election rests exclusively with the Legislature. In some States the nominations are made by Congressional districts, each naming its own, and the two at large, representing the Senators, are put up by a State convention; in others, the latter gathering names the entire list; but in every case they are all voted for in bulk by the people of the State,* so that a voter in the First Congressional District, for instance, votes for the Elector representing the Twentieth District as well and for all others. In this way the candidate of the party which carries the State is apt to and nearly always does get the full vote of that State, though this is not an invariable sequence by any means,† since in nearly all elections where more than one man is to be chosen, some receive more votes than others and some are elected while others are defeated on the same ticket.

The Electors having been duly chosen, on Tues-

*There have been some exceptions in new States and those of the South undergoing reconstruction, when the Legislature itself cast the Electoral vote: this, however, is abnormal and a piece of usurpation, not to be thought of, in a settled condition of things. Michigan recently passed a law providing for the choice of Electors by districts, but its Constitutionality is to be tested.

†In the election of 1880, the vote of California was divided between Hancock and Garfield, the former receiving five, the latter one. This is the most recent case.

day after the first Monday in November, receive each a certificate of election from the Governor. Their official meeting takes place on the second Monday in January next following, at such place as the Legislature may appoint, usually the capital of the State. After the customary formula, each Elector deposits a ballot containing the name of his choice—or rather his party's choice—for President, and immediately thereafter votes in like manner for Vice-President. A certificate in triplicate of each vote is then made out, and one of these under seal is entrusted to a special messenger, chosen by the Electors, to be delivered out of hand to the President of the United States Senate in person; another set is forwarded to that official by mail, and the third is filed with the Judge of the District Court for the district in which the election is held.

The Senate and House of Representatives meet in joint session in the hall of the latter body on the second Wednesday in February next succeeding, when the certificates are opened by the President, and four tellers previously appointed count the votes and read aloud the result; their lists are then handed to the President of the Senate, who makes a formal announcement of the result, if there be a result, and the thing is done—the new President and Vice-President are officially introduced to the people. The installation occurs on the 4th of March following, and is usually accompanied by imposing demonstrations.

In case there should be no election, by reason of there being more than two candidates and no one having received a majority of *all* the Electoral votes, the Houses immediately separate and the Representatives proceed to elect a President. Each State casts but one vote, and of course the majority of the delegation determine what that shall be. Two-thirds of the States constitute a quorum, but it requires a majority of *all* the States to elect. In case the House should not be able to choose a President, the Vice President (chosen by the Senate if there shall have been no such election by the Electors) becomes President at the time the latter would have been inaugurated.

In case of vacancy in the offices of both the President and Vice President, the former office is filled by a Cabinet officer if eligible. The order of selection is as follows: Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney General, Postmaster General, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior.*

The President and Vice President must be native citizens of the United States, and not less than thirty-five years of age. The former receives a salary of \$50,000 a year; the latter \$8,000, the same as the Cabinet officers.

The election this year occurs on November 8th; as, under the new apportionment (see Chap. III) there

*This law was passed before the Cabinet office of Secretary of Agriculture was created, so, not being named, the holder of such office would be ineligible.

will be 356 Representatives, this added to 88—the number of Senators—makes 444 Electors, divided as follows:

STATES.	Representatives in the 53d Congress.	Electoral votes in the next Presidential Election.	STATES.	Representatives in the 53d Congress.	Electoral votes in the next Presidential Election.
Alabama . . .	9	11	Montana . . .	1	3
Arkansas . . .	6	8	Nebraska . . .	6	8
California . . .	7	9	Nevada . . .	1	3
Colorado . . .	2	4	New Hamp'r . . .	2	4
Connecticut . . .	4	6	New Jersey . . .	8	10
Delaware . . .	1	3	New York . . .	34	36
Florida . . .	2	4	N. Carolina . . .	9	11
Georgia . . .	11	13	North Dak. . .	1	3
Idaho . . .	1	3	Ohio . . .	21	23
Illinois . . .	22	24	Oregon . . .	2	4
Indiana . . .	13	15	Penna . . .	30	32
Iowa . . .	11	13	Rhode I. . .	2	4
Kansas . . .	8	10	S. Carolina . . .	7	9
Kentucky . . .	11	13	S. Dakota . . .	2	4
Louisiana . . .	6	8	Tennessee . . .	10	12
Maine . . .	4	6	Texas . . .	13	15
Maryland . . .	6	8	Vermont . . .	2	4
Massachus'ts . . .	13	15	Virginia . . .	10	12
Michigan . . .	12	14	Washington . . .	2	4
Minnesota . . .	7	9	W. Virginia . . .	4	6
Mississippi . . .	7	9	Wisconsin . . .	10	12
Missouri . . .	15	17	Wyoming . . .	1	3

Electoral votes necessary to a choice, 223.

CHAPTER III.

THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The Senate at the present time consists of eighty-eight members, two from each of the forty-

four States. It is one of the peculiarities of our system that New York, with about 145 times the population of Nevada, has no more representation in the upper branch of Congress; this is because the Senators represent the States themselves, not the people of the States, the intention being to make every member of the Federal household equal to any other without reference to its population or circumstances—not a bad idea after all, properly looked at. The people are more remotely removed from the election of Senators than from that of the President; in the latter case their voice amounts to a command which, as has been shown, is obeyed; in the former they give no command and, as a rule, know not whom the choice may fall upon. It is true they elect those who in turn elect the Senators, but there is no previous arrangement or understanding, as with the Electoral College, hence no compact to be fulfilled. The members of the Senate are always chosen by the Legislatures of their respective States,* and hold office for the period of six years, except in the case of new States, when one is chosen for a long (as often as otherwise a full) term and the other for a shorter one, but after that they are chosen for six years. The object of this arrangement is to have one-third of the Senate change every two years, and thus give the States an opportunity to reconstruct or rearrange its

*If a vacancy occurs while the Legislature is not in session, the Governor has power to appoint a Senator, who holds office until that body convenes again and elects.

character or political cast as often as the people change the lower House. When the new Senators take their seats, they are assigned to "classes" having the foregoing arrangement in view. The Senate is a dignified and deliberative body, having executive and even judicial as well as legislative power, the first named function being used in the case of the ratification of treaties, and appointments of the great army of officers who hold title from the Federal Government, they not only confirming or rejecting the appointments made by the President, but having a right to be consulted regarding them beforehand; and they act as Judges in all cases of impeachment of any of the officers named and of any others under the General Government. In case the President of the United States is on trial, the situation is rendered more solemn and impressive by the presence of the Chief Justice, who presides over the proceedings. The Senate chooses all its own officers, including a President of that body, but the latter does not act if the Vice President, who is the presiding officer *ex officio*, is present and takes the chair. Senators must be not less than thirty years old, must be residents of the States from whence they come and have resided in the United States not less than nine years. The Senate now stands politically—Republicans 46, Democrats 41, and one Independent or Farmers' Alliance.

The Representatives may be styled the incarna-

tion of the people's will, directly expressed, and as these are the only officers relating to national affairs with whom it is so, the House of Representatives may properly be considered the great political barometer of the country, a reflex of the citizens' desire and purposes, an organized embodiment of their political preferences. The members are chosen by districts, fixed by the respective State Legislatures, but the whole number to which each State is entitled is fixed by Congress every ten years, shortly after the regular census and is based thereon; thus a State's delegation may be increased or diminished (rarely the latter) in accordance with either the change in the population or the ratio of representation. For instance, if the ratio should be a member to each 125,000 people* and if Utah were to be admitted to the Union, she would be entitled to two members, having now about 250,000 population; but if the next ratio should be greatly increased and the population materially diminished, or even remain stationary, it would be cut down one; or, *vice versa*, its representation might be increased. The present House consists of 336 members, including four Delegates from the Territories of Utah, New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma, and are divided politically as follows:• Democrats 240, Republicans 88, Farmer's Alliance 8.

The power of the House extends to all rightful subjects of legislation, and all measures for raising

*It is now 151,912, but from 1893 to 2003 it will be 173,901.

revenue must originate with it. It elects a Speaker and all of its other officers.

The Representatives and Delegates receive the same salary as the Senators—\$5,000 per annum and mileage; but the Speaker is paid \$8,000 per annum. They must not be less than twenty-five years of age.

All measures passed by both branches of Congress must go to the President for his signature; if he withhold it for ten days, from any bill, it thereupon becomes a law without signing; if he refuse to sign—"vetoes" it—and a two-thirds majority of both Houses thereupon pass it again, it thus becomes law.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SUPREME COURT.

This subject does not, strictly speaking, belong to this volume; a reference to it is made for the sake of consecutiveness.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. They hold office during good behavior or until retirement from old age. They receive each a salary of \$10,000 per annum, the Chief Justice having \$500 additional.

There are several other Federal courts, but, as

previously suggested, they are not proper subjects of discussion in this book.

CHAPTER V.


PRACTICAL POLITICS GENERALLY.—THE CONVENTION.

Politics first assumes a definite practical shape at the preliminary party gatherings of wards, precincts, or other limited division of the community; these meetings are usually called "primaries," and appropriately enough. It is at these that the utterances of the press and the orator and the instructions or suggestions imparted by the various forms of literature crystallize into method, purpose and action. Here is planted the seed that grows up and fructifies into the political vegetation which we support and are supported by, and naturally here the ambitious and it may be scheming politician first "gets in his work," or at least makes his workings manifest.

The primaries, as a rule, are but forerunners and adjuncts of other and more consequential bodies, further advanced but in the same line. Their purpose is generally the selection of representatives, called delegates, to such other bodies, and where there is a proper organization, a call for the meeting by duly constituted authority will previously have been made,

and this call nearly always specifies the number of delegates to which each precinct or ward is entitled, the purpose for which they are to be chosen, the time (including the hour) and place, and such other particulars as may be deemed necessary.

In places where there is no organization, the following procedure will be found as satisfactory and efficacious as any: Let a few of the partisans who are willing to lead out in the matter and make the necessary arrangements, issue a call signed by them, requesting all who hold similar views to their own to meet with them at a time and place specified for the purpose of organizing the party in that locality; this call should be given publicly by the best available means, preferably by publication in some newspaper having general circulation in the community, but other means may also be adopted. Sufficient time should be given to enable all to be notified and be able to attend. A few minutes after the appointed time, if there are enough present to proceed, some one (who may previously have been agreed upon, but this is not essential) should arise and arrest the attention of the gathering by rapping on a table, or a similar method; he should then place in nomination for the position of chairman the name of some well-known and capable member of the party, then proceeding to put the nomination to a vote by the voice, and in almost every case the nominee will be elected; but if not, the one who called to order can call for



other nominations and put them in proper form. Upon an election taking place, the one chosen is invited to the chair by the one who put the vote, and on taking it he should briefly state the object of the meeting and call for nominations for a secretary. This officer being chosen, the chair calls for the further pleasure of the meeting. Some one might then move the appointment of a committee of limited numbers on organization and order of business, who in its report should outline the purposes of the meeting; this may be adopted at once, or discussed, amended, and then adopted, or rejected and a report by the same or another committee ordered. When adopted it should contain the method of procedure of the meeting, name the offices for a permanent organization (of the meeting only), and suggest the number of persons who shall constitute the standing or executive committee of the party. (This committee in the case of a county would be styled the "County Central Committee," but in a precinct it would simply be the "Precinct Committee"). The election of such a committee, with a chairman, would complete the organization, and the meeting could thereupon proceed as it saw proper. This committee should issue all calls for conventions pursuant to a call from superior authority or of its own motion when necessary; but it must invariably be in harmony with and subservient to those above it, the precinct committee being responsive to that of the

County, the latter to that of the Territory, and this in turn to the National Committee.

These organizations should in no sense be confounded with political clubs or societies, which prevail extensively everywhere, the latter being, as their name indicates, social and educational in their nature, and as a rule having no executive authority in connection with the party itself. The president of a precinct club may and generally does in the absence of any other local authority see to the assemblage of primaries pursuant to a call for them from the County Committee; but he has no more and no less authority or privileges at such gatherings than any other member of the party; so also with the secretary. The convention is always a sovereign body, whether it be a primary or a delegate meeting, and elects its own officers independent of other arrangements.

Clubs are very useful adjuncts to a party. These can be similarly organized, but instead of chairmen and committees, as in the case of the party itself, they have presidents, vice-presidents and secretaries for terms regulated by themselves, and may have such other officers as they deem necessary. They should have regular meetings, and special ones when necessary, at all of which the officers first named preside if present, if not then the choice falls upon the vice-presidents, or if there be none, then a chairman *pro tem.* is chosen.

Any convention may have nominations to make as well as delegates to choose and its own officers to elect, and they frequently all occur in the same gathering. Thus the primary, if there is a general election on hand, might name candidates for justice of the peace and constable, elect its allotted number of delegates to the county convention, and choose its committee for the ensuing term; the county convention, composed of delegates from all the primaries, would then name candidates for all county offices to be filled at the election, elect its number of delegates to the Territorial convention and choose a new Central Committee besides, of course, electing its own officers; then the Territorial convention, made up of the delegates from all the counties, would choose delegates to the National convention, nominate a Delegate to Congress and any other officers to be voted for by the people at large, elect a Territorial Central Committee, and so on. The nominations to be made, of course, depend upon the officers to be elected and the action of the committee in relation thereto.

The workings of the convention are not only felt but beheld in all parts of our governmental structure; it is, in fact, the Government's other self—from which it springs, by which it is upheld, and without which it would have no definite existence. As is proper in a democracy, it is here, at the very threshold of our grand edifice, that the voice of the citizen is first heard declaring whom it is that he would have for ser-

vants and the manner in which their work shall be performed. That this demand is not always effectual is because he speaks with a divided voice; but at the polls the division blends into one sound—a word of command—and it may not be disobeyed. A beautiful system, and falling short of the perfection of mortal methods only because of the machinations, selfishness and corruption of those who master its details for the purpose of accomplishing personal and sinister ends. Let the patriotic citizen frown down such nefarious business wherever and whenever he can, no matter whether it occurs in his own party or any other; it is as true in politics as in any other department of life, that that organization or class which keeps itself clean will be the most attractive, and, other things being equal, the longest lived.

CHAPTER VI.

FOUNDATION OF THE PARTIES.

It is quite a common expression nowadays, and has been so for several years, that there is not much of an issue between the parties, all they amount to in a practical way being that one is “in” and the other wants to get in; or by some who are more observant

and more interested, perhaps, it is admitted that the tariff is a great issue, greater now than at any other time notwithstanding the labors of two generations of statesmen upon it—but with that one exception it is extensively believed that the real difference separating and holding separate the two great national organizations have been more fancied than real since the contentions growing out of the civil war became settled; and others still claim that there is as much ground and food for national and important political controversy now as at any time since the body politic divided on distinct and measured lines. The last-named class are more nearly correct than the casual observer and indifferent student would believe, as this volume will aim to show.

The Democratic party had its beginning as an organization but not in name with the elevation of Thomas Jefferson to political prominence. He was democratic in the "dictionary sense" of the term as well as otherwise, for his habits, public and private, while not destitute of all necessary dignity, were the very essence of simplicity; in fact public life was measurably distasteful to him and he entered it not without some reluctance. It is said of him by one biographer that when tendered an exalted position by President Washington (having previously been Secretary of State), his reply was—"No circumstance will ever more tempt me to engage in anything public." As a matter of history, however, it is but fair to state that

Jefferson, like other men in all ages, could not withstand a great popular pressure and he subsequently became Vice President and then President of the United States.

While Jefferson held the portfolio previously spoke of in Washington's Cabinet, from 1789 to 1793 inclusive, he was associated with Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury. The latter had acquired quite a reputation as a man of letters, and his sentiments, usually couched in strong and trenchant language, commanded wide attention and learned comment. His theory of government was that republicanism in its broadest sense was too diffused an institution for national strength; that some men had natural endowments and therefore special qualifications for place and power, and that others had superior acquirements aided by sufficient wealth to constitute them a separate and distinct class. Out of these two elements an upper house of Congress should be constituted and the President hold his office for life. In other words, the distinction between aristocracy and democracy should not only be drawn and recognized, but maintained and perpetuated. The government of Great Britain less its hereditary system approached more nearly his ideal than any other form of government now or then in existence, our Senate corresponding with the House of Lords and our House of Representatives with the House of Commons, the Chief Magistrate holding office for the

same term as the British sovereign but not, like him, leaving the office to descend to and remain in his own household. Hamilton was also more ostentatious in his manner than his great cotemporary, and believed more in a ceremonial and elaborate system of administration, not only in which respects but in every other except the exclusion of absolute royalty, these two statesmen of the Cabinet were entirely at variance. These conflicting principles were discussed and agitated, condemned and advocated by the respective partisans of each of the originators, until a compromise, or medium ground, was selected as the structural form of government. This was, and is, the choice of the lower or popular branch of Congress by the direct vote of the people, while being denied the right of choosing the President or Senators by their own immediate act, the former holding office twice and the latter three times as long as the Representatives. This being the subject of a former chapter, will not be further discussed here.

Here, then, have we the actual commencement of what are to-day the Democratic and Republican parties, the former recognizing its paternity in Thomas Jefferson and holding to the principles projected, expounded and carried out by him; the other, though not as a body holding to Hamilton's theories *in ex'enso*, still taking color and character from the system which he so ably upheld and whose impress is

to-day so conspicuous on the civil affairs of our Government.

We can readily comprehend that unrestricted and undefined democracy leads to communism, anarchy, and, eventually, to chaos; while it is as easily understood that to follow without restraint or consideration of results in the path marked out by Hamilton, would some day, if not right quickly, bring us to monarchy pure and simple, monarchy with one of its most objectionable features—aristocracy—emphasized. As he himself put it, there should be a branch of the Government held by the rich and “well-born.” Happily we have escaped that and all similar relics of feudalism, but the workings of the masterful mind behind the idea could not be ignored, and hence the governmental structure before us—a shield against mobocracy on one side, and a guarantee against royalty on the other, with all strata of society represented.

To put the matter plainly, the two parties hold to this extent with the doctrines of their respective originators: The Republican party advocates and tends toward a strong central government, so much of sovereignty as is necessary being taken from the people as taxes are taken from them and for a similar purpose, the object being to make the seat of government the immediate source of power, with no rights to States or individuals that would cause the General Government to be weakened. The Democratic party holds to the idea that power comes from beneath, not from above,

authority only radiating from Washington; that the Nation's strength lies in the strength of its units, not *vice versa*; that each individual is a sovereign, and all communities formed by individuals are likewise sovereign, each in its sphere, and neither interfering with the other; and that all power not specially granted to the General Government is specially withheld and retained in the hands of the people.

The case, summed up, would seem to be, aggregation vs. diffusion of power. This is quite an issue of itself, is it not? It was such before any other took definite shape and it has been constantly before the country in one form or another ever since; doubtless it always will be. Though the parties which contend for mastery may change, as they have changed, and have numerous other subjects of contention, they will, in all probability, have more or less direct reference to this very question, it being as shown the origin of parties in the United States, and in a very broad sense their reason for living.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TARIFF—HOW THE PARTIES STAND REGARDING IT.

The Government to which we give allegiance is very much like an immense family—it must be sup-

ported and have an income of some sort to get along at all; it differs from most families, however, in that its head is not paternal and it does not support but is supported by its members. As it is not engaged in any kind of business, as that term is commercially understood, it must equip itself by such other means as its regular proceedings demand, its emergencies require and the people consent to. Taxation is the direct plan of raising revenue by any government or organization, large or small; but as this and vexation have been held to be closely associated in another way than merely coming in the order named, it is generally understood that the privilege given by the people to allow the national and local authorities to assess them variously must not be abused or placed beyond the point of actual requirements. It was for this reason, among others, that the popular branch of Congress was invested with the exclusive right of originating all measures for raising revenue, the people, who primarily provide the money, being thus as nearly directly heard from on such matters as is practicable.

The National Government has several resources, even under normal circumstances, the number being increased in case of war as may be required. These are the imposition of varying duties on certain imports; taxes on domestic products such as liquors, manufactured tobacco and artificial butter; licenses for various purposes; the sale of public lands; fines

and forfeitures, and so on. But the first named is the only phase of the subject on which the two great parties are squarely divided,* and it will therefore receive the only direct consideration here.

The word "tariff," in this country, is almost entirely absorbed by its political connection, and when used without qualification is understood to have no other meaning than the duties referred to. Every important point in the United States accessible from without by water has been constituted a "port of entry" and a "custom house" established at each. At every session of Congress is arranged a schedule of articles to import which means to pay a certain rate of impost at these custom houses, and to land them anywhere else, or secrete them so they are not observed, and thus bring them in without the impost, is smuggling—a crime and punished variously, but in every case severely. It is very seldom, however, that this is carried on to any great extent, and still more seldom that it escapes detection when it does take place. The principal items, that is, the items concerning the duty on which the great contention has arisen, are wool and woollens, lead, iron, tinware, wire and implement finishings, binding twine, sugar, salt and some few others not necessary to name, as a discus-

*The Democrats and Republicans have only within a few years become divided as stated on this question. President Garfield (Republican) was as much a free trader theoretically as almost any Democrat, and Congressman Randall of Pennsylvania (Democrat), as much a protectionist as most of the Republicans.

sion of the principal of these develops the whole subject.

WOOL.—The enactment at present in force (April, 1892), known as the "McKinley act," approved October 1, 1890, divides wool into three classes: 1—That of merino blood and all other not embraced in classes 2 and 3; 2—Leicester, Cotswold, Lincolnshire, Down combing, Canada long, also the hair of camels, goats, alpaca and other like animals; 3—Donskoi, South American, Cardova, Valparaíso and Russian camel's hair, and wools from Turkey, Greece, Egypt and Syria. On No 1, the duty on washed is 22 cents a pound, unwashed 11 cents, scoured 33 cents; No. 2, 12 cents, scoured 36 cents; No. 3 (including camel's hair), 50 per cent. *ad valorem* (according to value). On manufactured goods the average duty is much greater, ranging from 37 per cent. *ad valorem* to about double that figure, and in a few cases even more.

LEAD.—The duty on lead ore and lead dross is $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound, whether mixed or unmixed with silver; in pigs and bars, 2 cents a pound; in sheets, shot, etc., $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound.

IRON —The iron schedule is a very long one, corresponding with the importance of that metal in the commercial world. The duty on iron ore of all kinds is 75 cents per ton; iron in pigs, scrap iron, etc., three-tenths of a cent a pound; bar iron, eighth-tenths of a cent; iron in coils or rods, one and one-tenth cents; beams, girders, posts, etc, nine-tenths of a cent;

boiler and other plates, except saw plate, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents, and 45 per cent. *ad valorem*; railway bars, sixtenths of a cent.

TIN.—There is no duty at present on block or pig tin, but the act referred to fixes one (four cents a pound) on and after July 1, 1893; but if by July 1, 1895, it shall be shown that the product of such metal in such form (and cassiterite) in the United States shall not have exceeded 5,000 tons in any year prior thereto, the duty shall be taken off. On sheet and manufactured tin, the duty is 2.2 cents a pound.

BINDING TWINE.—The duty is 7-10 of a cent, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound, according to material.

SUGAR.—There is an idea prevailing, more or less widely, that all sugars are now admitted free of duty into the United States. This is a mistake. All above No. 16 Dutch standard in color pay half a cent per pound, and one tenth of a cent in addition when imported from countries paying a bounty; and all kinds of sugar confectionery must pay five cents a pound. Furthermore, as to all sugar-producing countries that have not entered into reciprocal relations with us, the President may at any time suspend the provisions of the law* admitting such and other products (hides, molasses, etc.) free and thus restore the tariff. All licensed sugar manufactories in the United States whose product is not less than 500 pounds a year, are

*See Chapter on Reciprocity.

entitled to a bounty of two cents a pound on each and every pound testing not less than 90° by the polariscope, and on all less than 90° and not less than 80° , $1\frac{3}{4}$ cents a pound, to be paid out of the United States Treasury.

The foregoing constitute a sufficient enumeration for an exposition of the subject. The platforms of the two parties, which appear further along, show their respective attitudes on this great question.

THE REPUBLICAN POSITION.—The Republicans as a party favor a high tariff and have thus acquired the name of "Protectionists." They enacted the McKinley law, and offer in justification of what must by itself seem an exorbitantly high rate of average duty on imports, that by its adoption foreign industrialists, manufacturers and artisans cannot come into our markets and offer their wares at less rates than what they can be produced for profitably in this country. It being held that foreign labor, materials and methods are necessarily cheaper than ours, home developments would be retarded and even destroyed, manufactories be discouraged and in many cases suspended altogether, and our workingmen driven out of employment or forced to work for wages corresponding with those abroad. Notably is this claimed to be the case regarding our wool and lead industries; it is presented that the former can be produced and shipped here cheaper than any of our people can afford to raise it, and that in the matter of manufac-

tures, we would be driven out of the market by England alone, with her subsidized and pauperized Indian, Egyptian and other labor, that of the Englishmen themselves being very much cheaper than what our own men and women can afford to work for.

In the case of lead, we are shown that Mexico is nearly as great a producer and probably has as great resources as ourselves, if not greater; that the peons of Mexico are glad to work for from one-fourth to one-tenth of what our miners and millmen receive, and the cost of production being thus so much less, the Mexican mine owners and lead workers could flood our country with that metal at such rates as would absolutely drown home competition, close up all our lead mines and force those working them into other fields of occupation or idleness; but the duty on lead and wool steps in and shuts off the unequal contest, and thus do our flocks yield profitable returns and our mines not only produce profit to the owners but constantly contribute to the wealth and circulating medium of the world. A similar showing, except as relates to Mexico, is made regarding iron.

It is claimed, as regards tin, that, while we have not hitherto produced any, and are producing but very little now, there have been some discoveries made and these should be fostered and stimulated in such manner as will promote the full development of such resources. Meantime we have established plants in several places for the manufacture of bright and

terne tin, and that while the quantity is not now great it is constantly increasing and the quality is equal to any; and with protection, not without it, we expect in a few years to be able to set aside the bulk of our importations altogether, while opening up new and profitable fields of industry at home.

A high tariff with its necessary appendages is thus not only an incentive and aid to the further development and manufacture of our resources, but a protection to the laborer and artisan and a direct assistance to our struggling infant industries. In short, the Republican position is a tariff for protection as well as for revenue, the former being paramount and to be upheld to the exclusion of all other fiscal considerations.

The bounty on sugar is justified variously. It is an incident in the recent tariff legislation of Congress, not a separate and distinct object of itself, but a necessary outgrowth, designed to equalize the operations of the law. Our home producers, having previously enjoyed the benefit of a tariff whereby they were measurably relieved of the curtailing pressure by foreigners, are all at once, not step by step, deprived of that assistance; but sugar being one of the indispensable articles of civilized life and our country not being able to produce a supply even remotely approximating its consumption, it is more beneficial and more just to our people that the doors be opened to the cheaper foreign sugar, the natural effect of which is to give us

a sufficient supply at greatly reduced prices. As this reduction curtails the profits of home producers to a point nearly if not quite indicated by zero, and there would soon be no inducement whatever for remaining in the business, the factories would one by one have to close or take up something else if the former assistance rendered by the Government were not replaced in some way, and there is no acceptable way except that of a direct bounty payable out of the Treasury. By this means, a vast and growing industry is kept in existence whereby capital is not dissipated but increased, employment furnished to thousands who otherwise would be idle, sugar is made plentiful and at a trifling cost, the protective system is not interfered with, and the general good of the Government and the people is secured and made effectual. The same argument with slight variations is applied to all dutiable articles, and it is claimed that even if the rate of duties should be so high as to seem oppressive, it is not so, all things considered, it not being a tax when properly weighed and analyzed, but such an assistance to the wage-worker, the limited investor and man of industrial enterprise as more than makes up for any excess in the matter of such charges, while encouraging and stimulating that crowning feature of both political and domestic economy—home manufactures, with a home market built up and strengthened as we advance along the economic scale.

THE DEMOCRATIC POSITION.—The Democratic party traverses all positions taken by its opponents on the tariff question except as to admitting sugar free, and it fiercely assails the bounty provided for our manufacturers of that article, holding that the Government has no more right to take means paid over by the people for its own support and hand such means over to private enterprises, than it has to have money taken out of the pocket of A and placed in that of B. The "frantic efforts" of the Republican press and speakers to show how much of real good has been accomplished in the country have a double reactionary effect when properly considered, as showing at once one of the benefits resulting from taking off the tariff, and that the great manufacturers must be conciliated and pampered at no matter what cost. They call attention to the fact that as the bounty comes out of the pockets of the people, they are in reality paying more for sugar than before. The Democrat being thus provided with a text, make the most of it substantially as follows:

It being admitted that the removal of the tariff on sugar has made the supply abundant and the price cheaper, why not apply the same beneficial agency to all other necessities of life? Surely, sugar is not more a necessity than woolen goods of all kinds, yet duties greater even than those imposed during the war, when there was some excuse for them, remain in a time of profound peace and in the midst of a pros-


perity which is only diminished by the operations of iniquitous legislation. You say this is to protect sheep growers, wool raisers and dealers from cheap foreign competition; but what kind of protection is it to the ninety-nine out of a hundred of our people who are not in such business but have to use the others' products continually? Why compel such an overwhelming majority to pay constant tribute to so insignificant a minority? If both cannot be figuratively taken under the Republican wing and sheltered from the storm of competition from abroad and the tempest of extortion at home, how dare you call it the part of patriotism and love of our people to extend your shelter over the individual here and there—generally well enough provided for anyway—and leave the great mass of our people to not only battle the storm unaided, but to contribute their mite to said individuals every time they buy certain necessary manufactured articles? Is love for the classes and disregard of the masses your best definition of statesmanship and philanthropy? Is it not a fact that you are "in" with the favored classes spoken of, and that, as a fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind and mutual benefits follow reciprocal action, they are "in" with you, especially at election times when money and votes are alike valuable and both correspondingly in demand? Besides, we deny and you cannot prove that your boasted protective policy protects in any way all those whom you have singled out as the recip-

ients of its alleged benefits, and most particularly is this the case with the wool grower. There are no arguments like existing facts, and why is it that the past year (1891), with the highest tax (for it is a tax unequivocally and absolutely) ever placed on wool, the price was much cheaper than the year before? If you say it is because of the supply and demand having varied, we have you in the corner more securely than ever, as we, whom you so recklessly call "free traders," have been trying to show you for years that that was the greatest and best law by which values are or can be adjusted, and that alone takes the wind out of your protection sails altogether. Besides: The wools imported are of a different fiber, or texture or length from those produced by us, and in the production of most of the finer and many of the special lines of fabrics, we must mix such importations with our own growths to produce the articles spoken of. Now, since under the all-but prohibitory tariff, the cloths containing these foreign wools must be held at a figure proportionately high, of course the demand for them is correspondingly limited and so is the requirement for home-grown materials, since they must, as stated, be mixed with the others; then is it not a fact that the demand being limited the price is low, whereas, if there were a lower tariff or none at all, the goods would be cheaper, thus commanding greater sales and hence necessitating the purchase of greater supplies at home as well as abroad—increas-

ing the demand and raising the price of what the wool dealer has to sell, and cheapening to him and all others the articles which they buy?

This is a very limited part of the ground taken as to woolens and sugar, but it gives a fair idea of the whole. As to tin, the Democrats say to their opponents: Supposing, for the sake of the argument, that all you have claimed regarding this subject be true, what excuse have you to offer for the course you have pursued for so many years in taxing tin when there was none produced here and no prospects of any? Then we deny that American mines are productive and promising, or that a tariff or anything else but a convulsion of nature could make them so, or that there are any such mines worthy the name; and the employment so far afforded by the manufacture of the few wagon loads of sheet tin that has taken place in this country, has been mainly to workmen imported directly from Wales, and this certainly does not help us very much; we might say, not at all.

As to lead, Western Democrats admit that its admission free of duty would be to some extent against the interests of our miners, while those in the East hold variously on the question. It is claimed by many that reciprocal relations with Mexico would equalize matters all around, but the general tendency seems to be to not remove the lead tariff, at least not altogether. This is claimed to be in perfect consonance with the party's principles, since its declara-



tion as to revenue means that some imports must be taxed, and lead might properly and profitably be among them.

The reference to English labor and competition does not receive much consideration from the average Democrat, who is prone to asking exultantly, "Why can you not look beyond Free Trade England—where labor in some cases is as well paid as here—and consider the protected nations of Europe, in every one of which wages are greatly inferior to those prevailing in any part of Great Britain?"

Much more in the same vein could be said regarding iron, twine, etc. It is the subject of hundreds of volumes and myriads of great speeches. But as this book is not designed for a cyclopedia, and a reasonably comprehensive view of the Democratic attitude is afforded by the foregoing, this chapter will be closed with the general statement that the Democracy's position on the tariff question compressed into a few words is—The unrestricted privilege of buying in the cheapest markets and selling in the dearest; a tariff for revenue only, adjusted to the requirements of the Government economically administered; and no duty whatever on raw materials.

CHAPTER VIII.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURES AND COLLECTIONS.—THE "BILLION DOLLAR CONGRESS."

The next great difference between the parties is that of expenditures by the National Administration, this necessarily including the collection of the means for meeting such expenditures.

Congress passes a regular appropriation bill every session for the fiscal year ending June 30, and as this covers all the ordinary expenses of the Government, it is always a huge affair, not only as to length and items, but as to the sum total legislated out of the Treasury; but it is sometimes much greater than at others. This is a vast and growing country, and every department and every part of every department must be fully provided for*; while the needed amounts for public buildings and improvements, shipbuilding, deficiencies and defalcations, the interest on the public debt and a reasonable reserve fund, with many other like matters, must also receive adequate financial consideration.

Appropriations, like everything else of great importance coming from Congress, are apt to receive

*The exact items for which appropriations are made are—Deficiency, legislative, executive and judicial, sundry civil, support of the army, naval service, Indian service, rivers and harbors, forts and fortifications, Military Academy, Post Office Department, pensions, consular and diplomatic, Agricultural Department, District of Columbia, miscellaneous.

full attention and be denounced or approved by the people in accordance with their party predilections or personal convictions; naturally there is more approval and less denunciation of a reduced than of an increased expense account, the people being the Congressmen's employers and acting and feeling as a rule very much like other employers. But sometimes neither the condemnation nor endorsement of such Congressional action are fully deserved, and herein we find a fruitful theme for the politician on the tripod, the rostrum or elsewhere.

Perhaps no other appropriations by Congress ever created such a storm of condemnation on one side or so much of stubborn defense on the other as those of the last, the Fifty-first Congress, dominated in both branches by the Republican party and with a partisan of their own kind in the White House as President. Certainly the appropriations were largely in excess of those of any other Congress (excluding, of course, consideration of the great sums expended for carrying on the civil war), amounting to a few millions over a billion dollars. The Democrats claimed this to be a direct exemplification of President Cleveland's famous tariff message to Congress in December, 1887, wherein it was shown that by excessive taxation (tariff) the surplus in the Treasury for which no proper account could be given to the people had passed \$100,000,000 and was likely to reach \$140,000,000, and on this theme he spoke as follows:

"The public Treasury, which should only exist as a conduit conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate objects of expenditure, becomes a hoarding place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use, thus crippling our national energies, suspending our country's development, preventing investment in productive enterprise, threatening financial disturbance, and inviting schemes of public plunder. * * * Of course it is not expected that unnecessary and extravagant appropriations will be made for the purpose of avoiding the accumulation of an excess of revenue. Such expenditure, besides the demoralization of all just conceptions of public duty which it entails, stimulates a habit of reckless improvidence not in the least consistent with the mission of our people or the high and beneficent purposes of our Government."

As previously stated, the Republican position was stubbornly and ably upheld by its leading men in and out of Congress, the following, among much other similar language, having been sent out in a circular:

"That which the Cleveland Government disingenuously, and for the purpose of creating a public sentiment in favor of the Mills bill, hoarded together and falsely called a surplus, was expended six times over by the Republican Administration of President Harrison in the reduction of the bonded debt of the United States, to which purpose the annual surplus revenues had for twenty years prior to the

Cleveland Administration been applied, and to which that Administration should have applied them.

"The appropriations of the last Congress were neither wasteful nor corrupt, and every increase admits of the most complete justification."

The President's message referred to was derided and pronounced a "free trade document"—a cry which must have had its effect where it would do Mr. Cleveland the most harm, for he lost his own State in the Presidential contest of the following year and was thus defeated for re-election, though his popular majority in the Union was nearly 100,000. A reaction, however, occurred in the elections for the 52d Congress, the same issues, substantially, being presented to the people and the Democrats gaining the House of Representatives by the enormous majority previously appearing (see page 19), there being no parallel to it since the formation of the Government.

We thus see that an unpopular epithet applied to any party or its measures, if it have any foundation at all, and is persistently pushed, is apt to result disastrously to such party. There are a great many instances in point, but none, perhaps, more conspicuous than the rout of the Democrats through the cry of "free trade" in 1888, and the political earthquake which left but a vestige of the Republican party in the present House of Representatives by means of the well-sung song of "The Billion Dollar Congress."

If it be the case in politics as in some other things that extremes neutralize each other, the impartial observer of our national affairs would be apt to say at this juncture that we are on the eve of a hot and close fight.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RECIPROCITY QUESTION.

The McKinley bill as originally completed did not have the reciprocity clause in it. It was through the objections and insistence of Secretary Blaine that it was inserted.* A condensed outline of the measure (in the law itself it is very brief) appears in a preceding page, in the chapter on the tariff, where it appropriately belongs. This makes it unnecessary to give more than the greatly conflicting opinions of the two parties on the subject. These are about as clearly and fully set out in the subjoined paragraphs as they can be in so limited a space:

THE REPUBLICAN VIEW.—The Free Trader has got so in the habit of charging all of the disorders of society upon protection that were the plagues of Egypt to

*The articles affected by the reciprocity clause are sugars, molasses, coffee, tea and hides imported; or any of our products exported, the object being to obtain free admission of the latter into foreign ports.

befall us, he would undoubtedly insist that they were due to protection and might easily be dissipated by the adoption of a Mills bill.* The way he puts his point about our South American trade is that we charge such high duties on raw materials as to be unable to produce in competition with European countries. You can't have an export trade, he says, if you won't take an import trade. But in this case, as the facts show, we do have the import trade, and therefore his condition is supplied, but we don't get the export trade, and therefore his statement of cause and effect is plainly erroneous. Moreover, the goods demanded by the South Americans are of kinds that are not in the least affected by our tariff. They want chiefly goods of which we are already enormous exporters.

THE DEMOCRATIC VIEW.—The reciprocity scheme is one of the most arrant humbugs ever foisted upon the people in the guise of protection. The Republican party is as apt and ready at arrogating words that glow for its own knavish acts, as it is at applying misfit words to measures fostered by us; and "reciprocity" and "free trade" are striking examples. The former means retaliation and oppression and nothing less; the latter a reduction of taxation and nothing more. If foreign nations will not admit free of duty *all* that we produce, no matter how valuable, how necessitous or how trifling, then we will put an embargo

*A low tariff measure passed by the House in the 50th Congress.

on their sugars, syrups and hides, of which we do not and cannot produce enough for home use, and on tea and coffee, of which we produce none at all; these all being articles upon which the laboring classes, the small manufacturers and those occupying the more humble spheres of life greatly rely, the outrageous fallacy, the insufferable—not to say criminal—humbuggery of the whole scheme is plainly manifest. It is thoroughly in keeping with Republican methods.

It is to be hoped the reader will have no trouble in taking his choice; the two positions are not so much alike as to create mental confusion.

CHAPTER X.

POLITICAL LEGISLATION.—THE “FORCE BILL.”

All the legislation by law-making bodies is not unconnected with a desire for partisan advantage; in fact, very little of it is, but some of the measures introduced are so directly in favor of one party and against the other that they usually result in a strict party vote, and thus we know what their fate will be if we know which party predominates, unless they should be so extreme as to be revolutionary. Of such a character, the Democrats claim, was the last amendment to the Constitution (the fifteenth) which, how-

ever broad in its language, had the augmentation of the Republican party's strength to the full extent of the negro vote in the South in view, it being charged by the Democrats and not overcome by their opponents that the freedmen were not qualified for suffrage. Several acts by Congress in aid of the amendment have been conspicuous in the class of legislation described, notably the Freedmen's Bureau bill, the Civil Rights bill and the Enforcement bill, all passed shortly after the war; while the most recent was the Federal Elections bill, sometimes called the Lodge bill (because introduced in the House of Representatives by Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts), but more frequently the Force bill. This measure passed the House but failed in the Senate in the second session of the Fifth-first Congress. This was not for want of a Republican majority, but through the skillful and persistent obstructive tactics of the Democrats under the leadership of Arthur P. Gorman, Senator from Maryland, assisted to some extent by the "Silver Senators" from Colorado and Nevada, and the Pennsylvania delegation. The Force bill provided that on petition of 100 voters in any election district, the Federal Court should appoint election supervisors who should hold office for life and take charge of all elections when officers who were to participate in Federal affairs were to be chosen, the local authorities being thus practically deprived of participation. The struggle over this measure was one of the most

memorable that ever occurred in the Senate; and while the bill is not dead, it is hardly probable it will be called up again.

It should be observed that this is not the first time the minority has had assistance from the majority when radical measures were before them, the most notable instance being the impeachment of President Johnson. The Republicans, who were pushing the proceedings, had 42 Senators and the Democrats but 12. It requires two-thirds to convict in such cases, and to save the President, the Democrats had to muster seven votes from the ranks of the opposition. They just got them.*

This is what a standard Republican authority has to say as to the Force bill:

"If it was a force bill, whom did it force and what did it force him to do? It forced no one who was honest, no one who was fair. It did force the bulldozer, the ballot-box stuffer, the Ku-Klux fiend, the White League ruffian, and all of their kin and kind, to refrain from the infamous crimes that for twenty years had produced these results throughout the South and in some other parts of the country. The Republican party was defeated in its attempts to pass the bill not by the Democratic but by the Republican votes, but officially there has been no abandonment of the

*Fessenden, Me.; Fowler, Tenn.; Grimes, Ia.; Henderson, Mo.; Trumbull, Ill.; Ross, Kas.; Van Winkle, W. Va.; three others elected as Republicans but who had changed to Democracy—Doolittle, Wis.; Norton, Minn., and Dixon, Conn., are classed by some authorities as Republicans who voted "not guilty," but, excepting as to their votes, this is erroneous.

party's position. Its national platform, and every State platform that has been constructed since the adjournment of Congress, has reiterated the pledge of the Republican party to pass an honest election law.

And this is the Democratic view:

"We repeat our declaration of last year that, while condemning frauds in elections wherever practiced, we are opposed to the scheme of a national election law. We condemn the bill passed by the House, because it is a radical innovation upon our system of government and a dangerous step toward centralization; because it is conceived in the spirit of partianship and not that of patriotism; because it would utterly fail in accomplishing its professed ends, while its enforcement would cause untold political demoralization. So far as fraud, intimidation and bribery are resorted to at elections, both in Northern and Southern States, these evils do not call for and cannot be cured by a measure which deprives the States of the right to determine the election of their own representatives; which drags the Federal judiciary into the mire of party politics; which offers vast opportunities for influencing elections by the corrupt use of Federal patronage and furnishes an excuse for the use of bayonets at the ballot box. Past history and present experience alike teach that a nation may be ruled by arbitrary and centralized power, though all the forms of popular government are main-

tained. The enactment of this bill would tend to remove the control of the government from the people and to vest it in the leaders of the party in power."

CHAPTER XI.

THE SILVER QUESTION.

To say that this subject properly enters into the domain of partisan politics, is at this juncture to go a little too far; unless we except the action of some of the States in relation to it, it has not yet been made a party question, and from the very nature of it is not likely to be, at least so far as the Democrats and Republicans are concerned. It relates more to geography and science than to politics, but nevertheless is "handled" continually, and thus becomes a feature in contests. That it cannot become a matter on which there will be a square division on such party lines is evident from some of the recent platforms of the State conventions—the Ohio and Massachusetts Democrats, for example, being diametrically opposed to each other regarding it, so also with the Ohio and Colorado Republicans, and so on.

Silver, as well as gold, is recognized by the Constitution as a money metal; the question is as to the

extent to which it shall be coined. Practically, there are no silver demonetizers and can be no demonetization, since it is a royal metal and will, in one way or another, force its way into recognition and use. There are, however, those who go to extremes in their financial views; these are, respectively, those who favor unlimited and unrestricted coinage, and those who would limit silver's function as a legal tender to a few dollars and restrict coinage accordingly. The former are bi-metallists and the latter mono-metallists, the silver people believing in silver being placed on a parity with gold and constituted a standard by which other articles shall be measured independent of and the same as by the other metal; that is, it should not be merely merchandise whose value is regulated by gold, any more than gold should be merchandise regulated by it. Of course the other class regard gold as the only unchanging, invariable money medium and hence that it should constitute the one standard of values, silver and everything else being gauged by it.

CHAPTER XII.

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS AT ISSUE.

There are other issues, great enough in themselves, but on none of them are the parties divided as

much, even, as on the silver question. These are the civil service, the internal revenue and the Chinese questions, while our diplomatic system and foreign relations, the method of dealing with railroads, public lands, the Indians, etc., give the "outs" a chance to attack the "ins" occasionally, and this is seldom neglected. This is the outcome of that peculiar disposition in man which sometimes prompts him to pick to pieces the conspicuous work of others, and it is not altogether censurable in this connection, since it acts as a kind of political counterpoise and thus keeps the machinery steady. Except on special occasions, this is about all there is of British politics, and as it is an indicator of how the public pulse is throbbing and the most pronounced manner of informing those who reign to what extent they can go without getting into trouble with those who are reigned over, it is useful if not indispensable. In the newer country we have newer things to think upon and act about, and these, with the English system thrown in to fill up time, keep us quite busy in the legislative field.

As to internal revenue (on which there is a semblance of division) the Democrats, if anything, favor its retention and making the necessary reductions on the line of the tariff, while the Republicans are willing to give it up altogether if the Government's income can be reduced no other way outside of scaling the tariff list. This gives the former an opportunity to declare that the latter are for free whisky and tobacco

and the latter retaliate by replying, "for free men also." It will be seen that this subject falls back finally on the tariff to give the parties their opportunity for even a pacific contest regarding it.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE THIRD PARTY.

There is nearly always a third or fourth organized party in the field in a Presidential contest (generally the Prohibitionists and one or another form of the labor movement), but usually these have been only so many figureheads or repositories for votes which otherwise would come under the general classification of scattering. They now, however, assume aggregated and more dignified proportions and even threaten to carry a few States, perhaps enough to throw the election into the House of Representatives, under the name of the People's party. This combination proposes to unite all the elements opposed to both the old organizations, that is, the Farmers' Alliance, Greenback, Labor and (perhaps) Prohibition parties. A meeting was recently held at St. Louis, and it decided to hold a convention at Omaha on the 4th of July to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President. They also propose to put a full electoral ticket in the

field in every State besides a full State ticket where such officers are to be chosen, differing to this extent from the usual course of such movements of late.

A competent authority speaking on this subject uses the following language:

"The People's party was organized with specific reforms in view, the majority doubtless being convinced that there are radical errors in the legal and administrative status of land, transportation and money. There were, however, represented at the St. Louis convention several organizations having in view no such reform as sought by the majority.

"A large percentage of the whole body were cranks or radicals, who were there simply to propagate theories and ideas having less connection with the proposed work of reform than the Prohibitionists.

"It is unfortunate for the People's party that it should be handicapped with extremists whose purposes are so dissimilar as to be antagonistic. The Anarchist was at the birth of the new party, believing that whatever threatens existing institutions tends to the consummation of his hopes. The State Socialist was present, foreseeing that a short stretch of the proposal to regulate the three great factors of production would inaugurate his dream of common property and paternal government. That schools of thought so dissimilar should have been harmoniously represented seems incredible on any theory other than that each believes a leveling process must precede the establish-

ment of conditions he desires. The Anarchist believes that if present institutions were tumbled, he might see a society—temporary certainly, permanent, he hopes—in which no law shall vex or restrain his ideal liberty. The Socialist reasons that if the present order fall, he will be able to rear amid its ruins a system which shall make the individual but an atom in a great social unit, where each may be called upon to give his best work to the common good, and Government in turn to hedge and guard the individual with paternal care in every act incident to his intercourse with his fellows.

“There is no doubt that a majority of those present were honestly seeking relief from oppressive conditions. The impression is widespread, and true, that the unfortunate condition of the working people has grown out of legislation, and the main purpose of the mass of delegates was to devise some plan of counter legislation and organize a party to put it in operation. The men who joined in this view do not look to any radical change in either the form or genius of the Government as at present organized, and are therefore as essentially different from the theoretic individualists and socialists with whom they are confederated, as are those extremists from each other.”

One enthusiastic advocate makes the following claim for the People's party as a result of the Presidential contest this year, by which it will be seen

that whatever else may figure among their incorporeal assets, extreme modesty is not one of them:

Democratic States—Delaware, 3; Florida, 4; Kentucky, 13; Louisiana, 8; Maryland, 8; Michigan, 7; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 17; New Jersey, 10; Texas, 15; total, 94.

Republican States—Illinois, 24; Maine, 6; Massachusetts, 15; Michigan, 7; New Hampshire, 4; Ohio, 23; Pennsylvania, 32; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 4; total, 119.

People's States—Alabama, 11; Arkansas, 8; Georgia, 13; Kansas, 10; Minnesota, 9; Nebraska, 8; North Carolina, 11; North Dakota, 3; South Carolina, 9; South Dakota, 4; Tennessee, 12; total, 98.

Doubtful States—California, 9; Colorado, 4; Connecticut, 6; Idaho, 3; Indiana, 15; Iowa, 13; Montana, 3; Nevada, 3; New York, 36; Oregon, 4; Virginia, 12; Washington, 4; West Virginia, 6; Wisconsin, 12; Wyoming, 3; total, 133.

It will be noticed that not a State west of the Mississippi river, except Missouri, is given to either Democrats or Republicans. This, of course, is on account of the free silver issue, which the People's party expect to turn to great account in their campaign. It will be seen, too, that the People's party count on carrying five States in the Northwest and six in the South. Their strength in Virginia, Iowa and Wisconsin, they consider, is enough to hold the balance of power and make these States doubtful.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE GREAT CONTEST OF 1860.

The greatest and most momentous Presidential contest the country has ever seen or is perhaps destined to see, was the quadrilateral struggle of 1860, the parties being the Northern Democratic, Southern Democratic, Republican, and what was left of the Whig and Know Nothing parties and some scattering remnants combined under the name of the "Constitutional Union party." (The names of the different candidates appear in a subsequent place). As suggested in a previous chapter, it is the rule for one or more organizations apart from the principal ones to participate in such elections, but never before or since was the spectacle of four separate and distinct electoral tickets in each and every State, each representing an issue of vital import to the Nation itself, even thought of, certainly not by any considerable mass of our people.

This contest was the end of the old order of things and the beginning of the new. All we had been bequeathed from our fathers that was tainted with royalty, savored of oppression or had thrown about us a more or less tenacious web of intolerance; together with their noble legacy of patriotism, self-sacrifice, independence and enterprise, were about to

be tested in the common crucible of a struggle whose various sides gave full expression to nearly every conception of public policy, the result being, in one case, a solidified Union; in another, a Union by common consent with the parts solidified; in another, a system embracing both the principles of the first two in a modified form; and in the fourth, a continuance in the old-fashioned way we had been going so long. The last-named represented all that remained of Federal conservatism with the hope of a renaissance in our system; it was the only link binding us to the all-but effete in politics if not in social life, and while eminently respectable, proved to be the weakest one in the chain. The shadows of a coming storm, faint at first but growing darker and darker with each succeeding day, were thrown upon the land, but none outside the conservative element named seemed to have the slightest desire to avert it; each seemed to say to himself, after Patrick Henry, "It is inevitable, let it come."

The question of whether or not a State's sovereignty amounted to exclusive independence was one that had on many occasions made our halls of legislation ring. This was in the era of oratory, when the sturdy eloquence of Calhoun drew the fire—and it was fire—of Henry Clay; when the scholarly and incisive rhetoric of Hayne was met and minimized by the patriotic power of Daniel Webster. The Senate chamber over and over again echoed the masterful

efforts of the great champions on either side, and their achievements in the forensic arena had but this effect—the drawing of the lines more clearly and further apart, prefiguring an arena of another kind, one in which not words alone but acts—acts punctuated with bayonets and set to the dreary and deadly music of war—would carve out the solution. It was the beginning of the second Revolution.

The question of slavery was but an incident in the struggle. The Republican party, primarily and for a long time after the war actually began, made no demand for the freedom of the Africans held in bondage. They were opposed to the extension of slavery and wanted all the Territories thereafter admitted as States to come in free from the blight, and few there be now who do not say that in this they were altogether right, as would be the case had they done as much at the outset with reference to the section in which slavery existed. A noted but not always correct authority—General B. F. Butler—in his “Book,” makes it appear otherwise, presenting a picture in which a slave on the block is being sold, and this is labeled “The cause of the war;” others in high places give approval to the same fallacy. That the system by means of which such things could be, appealed more strongly than anything else to sentimentalists and what are commonly termed “screechers” in the North, is true; but the percentage of these who took up arms when the crash came, in order that

the great wrong might be wiped out, was infinitesimal, if indeed it existed at all. The cause of the war was the inability of the North and the South to settle differences regarding State lines—as to whether they were actual or artificial—and the election of 1860 was the last appeal to peaceful methods, while the abolishment of slavery occurred as a heroic means to a victorious end after the war had already cost hundreds of thousands of lives and billions of treasure.

But for the chasm dividing the Northern and the Southern Democracy, it would have won—its combined strength being greatly superior to all the opposition; as it was, the choice fell upon Abraham Lincoln and his induction into the White House was the beginning of an unbroken line of Republican Presidents up to 1885, when Grover Cleveland took the chair. It was also virtually the beginning of the present Republican party; though appearing four years earlier headed by John C. Fremont, it was then more a protesting than an offensive and defensive quantity—not so afterwards.

The full vote in the four-sided contest appears in its proper place elsewhere.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PARTIES OF THE PAST.

No such momentous or well-defined political issues divided the people prior to 1860 as since that time; still, there were many important national questions decided on party lines prior to that year and back almost to the beginning.

The first recognized party was the *Federalist*, followed immediately by the *Anti-Federalist*, or *Particularist*, the latter being very short-lived but leaving behind it the seed which came forth as the incipency of what is now the *Democratic* party. Indeed, Hamilton and his following named it the *Democratic Republican* party, the former as a term of reproach because of the excesses of the democratic Jacobins in France; but under the leadership of such men as Thomas Jefferson the stigma lasted no longer than the original name of the party, and on the second election for President the (then) *Republican* party had blossomed out into full development and recognition; however, it put no candidates in the field for either election, the eminent services and peculiar fitness of George Washington dispelling political asperities and divisions for the time being, and he was chosen for the two terms without opposition.

The Federalists accepted the Constitution under protest, were decidedly restive and showed a constant disposition to increase the powers of the General Government. In a word, they were Hamiltonians, an outline of whose political principles appears in the chapter on the foundation of the parties. Said that doughty leader—"The Constitution is the best that can be extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant Nation. . . The Federal Government may triumph over the State governments and reduce them to entire subordination, dividing the larger districts into smaller districts, and be able to protect the men of property from the depredations which the democratic spirit is apt to make on property." Later on he characterized the Constitution as a shilly-shally thing of mere milk and water and only good as a step to something better.

The Federalist party again triumphed in the third election (1796), the prestige gained by two unobstructed successes being sufficient to carry John Adams to victory over Thomas Jefferson, who was chosen Vice-President. The party's leaning to a strong government led to the passage of the alien and sedition laws of 1798, providing for fourteen years' residence as a condition of naturalization, authorizing the President to order any alien he deemed dangerous to leave the country, and in case of war, permitting by only proclamation the arrest and other outrageous treatment of all former subjects of the

country opposed to us; it also made it a misdemeanor severely punishable to combine against Government measures or officials, and to publish matter objectionable to the Government. This was the rock on which it split, and its third term was its last; it went down with the election of Thomas Jefferson and the defeat of John Adams in 1800, and arose no more in its former habilaments. It appeared again, nominally, in 1804 with C. C. Pinckney as its candidate, but its following was such a beggarly handful that it gave up completely so far as its principles went and four years later, having abandoned the advocacy of implied and constructive powers of the Nation, it did not do much better. At the same time a corporal's guard of disaffected Republicans under the lead of George Clinton appeared in the field and succeeded in getting nine electoral votes, those of his own State (New York), and being chosen Vice President. In 1812 he was again nominated by the disaffectionists and endorsed by the Federalists, but again defeated, by James Madison, having, however, made a much better run than before, receiving 89 votes. In 1816 that party went down for all purposes under the leadership of Rufus King, receiving only 34 votes.

A condensation of the Republican (Democratic) platform at that time is as follows:

"1. Inviolable preservation of the Federal Constitution according to the true sense in which it was adopted by the States. 2. Opposition to monarchizing

its features. 3. Preservation to the States of the powers not yielded to them by the Union. 4. A rigorously frugal administration of the Government, . . . and resistance to all measures looking to multiplication of officers and salaries. 5. Reliance for internal defense solely upon the militia till actual invasion, . . . and opposition to the policy of a standing army in time of peace. 6. Free commerce with all nations, political connection with none, and little or no diplomatic establishment. 7. Opposition to linking ourselves by new treaties with the quarrels of Europe. 8. Freedom of religion. 9. Freedom of speech and of the press. 10. Liberal naturalization laws. 11. Encouragement of science and the arts, to the end that the American people may perfect their independence of all foreign monopolies, institutions and influences."

The first term of President Monroe (1817 to 1821) gave such satisfaction that it inaugurated what has been termed "the era of good feeling," and he was, with the exception of one vote given to John Quincy Adams, unanimously re-elected in 1820. In his message to Congress in 1823 he promulgated the famous "Monroe doctrine," as follows:

"The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellowmen on the other side of the Atlantic. In wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part,

nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries, or make preparation for our defense. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. The difference proceeds from that which exists in our respective governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of our most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole Nation is devoted. We owe, therefore, to candor and the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered; but with the governments which have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. . . . Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the

globe, nevertheless, remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm and manly policy, meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to these continents (North and South America) circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness."

This era of good feeling did not go out with the retirement of Monroe. The election of 1824 brought four candidates into the field, all Republicans, so-called—John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, William H. Crawford and Henry Clay. There being no choice by the Electoral College, the House of Representatives elected Adams. In 1828 the *Democratic* party, as it is to-day with some slight modifications, entered the arena with Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun at its head. Opposed to it was all that was left of the original organization, and which by this time had assumed the name of *National Republican*. The latter had some features in common with the present Republican party, declaring for protection, the Nation above the States, etc. The Democrats

were successful, as they were four years later when another four-sided fight took place, Henry Clay representing the greater part of the opposition and occupying the ground upon which he had formerly gone 'down. The other candidates were John Floyd, *Nullification* (the bud of secession), and William Wirt, *Anti-Masonic*, its principles being indicated by its name.

The National Republicans "gave up the ghost" with that contest and were succeeded by the *Whigs*, who in 1836 put up W. H. Harrison against Martin Van Buren, Democrat, and were defeated. Not so in 1840, when the situation was completely reversed, Harrison being chosen by an immense majority over Van Buren. In this election the *Liberty or Abolition* party appeared upon the scene with James G. Birney at its head; he failed to receive a single electoral vote.

Henry Clay again tried his luck, this time as a Whig, in 1844, but was again defeated, James K. Polk, Democrat, being chosen. The Whigs were successful once more and for the last time four years later, the Democrats winning in 1852 and again in 1856. In the latter year the *Republican* party of to-day made its bow to the public as a National factor, as did also the *Native Americans* or *Know Nothings*, the doctrine of the latter being, substantiall, "put none but Americans on guard;" they were inimically to free naturalization and the holding of office by foreigners,

and were strongly opposed to Roman Catholicism; they had some of the characteristics of a secret society and when questioned as to their principles replied evasively or not at all—hence the name. It polled eight votes and vanished from the scene.

This brings us down to the great struggle of 1860, which is the subject of the preceding chapter. All the political elements of the country, after this election, became Democratic or Republican and remained so for several years.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT SYSTEM.

The Australian method of voting was introduced in a practical way into our electoral system in 1888, having in that year been adopted in the State of Massachusetts; it was also tried in the municipal election in Louisville, Ky., the same year. It proved to be a good thing and has been made a law in one State after another until now the majority of them have it, and doubtless the remainder will adopt it soon. Its object is to secure secrecy in voting and thus put a check if not a stop to corruption and intimidation at the polls.

By this system, the voter is left entirely to him-

self while preparing his ballot, a room being provided for that purpose. He is furnished with a ballot containing the names of all the candidates of every organized party, with blanks left for writing others if all or any of those printed do not suit him.* He then places his vote in an envelope, seals it and hands it in as under other systems. If the voter cannot read or write, it is generally provided that he shall inform an election judge, or clerk, which ticket or for whom he wishes to vote, and that official prepares the ballot accordingly.

While this method undoubtedly has a tendency to mitigate the evils complained of, it is doubtful if it or any other plan can entirely checkmate the smartness of the professional "heeler" and his employer. Still, it goes a long way in the right direction and is therefore to be upheld.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SINGLE TAX QUESTION.

The "Single Tax" idea is the invention of Henry George, an independent politician, political economist

*In some States he erases the names he does not want; in others puts a cross after those he does want; if the ballot is not changed at all, of course it is thrown out.

and author, of New York City, and has as yet a very limited following. It properly, however, enters the domain of politics, and is thus entitled to a place here. At the conference of the National League held in that city on Sept. 3, 1890, the following declarations expressive of the principles of the league (it is not a party) were presented and adopted; they explain the whole situation:

“We assert as our fundamental principle the self-evident truth enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence, that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

“We hold that all men are equally entitled to the use and enjoyment of what God has created and of what is gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that that value which the growth and improvement of the community attaches to land should be taken for the use of the community; that each is entitled to all that his labor produces; therefore, no tax should be levied on the products of labor.

“To carry out these principles, we are in favor of raising all public revenues for National, State, County and Municipal purposes by a single tax upon land

values, irrespective of improvements and all the obligations of all forms of direct and indirect taxation.

"Since in all our States we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another, all other taxes now levied and commensurately increasing the tax on land values until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government, the revenue being divided between local governments, State governments and the General Government, as the revenue from direct tax is now divided between the local and State governments, or by a direct assessment being made by the General Government upon the States and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

"The single tax would:

"1st Take the weight of taxation off the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.

"2d. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of tax-gatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.

"3d. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor.

"4th. Give us with all the world as perfect free-

dom of trade as now exists between the States of our Union, thus enabling our people to share through free exchanges in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies and corruptions, which are the outgrowths of the tariff.

"5th. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor-saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation of an advancing civilization.

"With respect to monopolies other than the monopoly of land, we hold that when free competition becomes impossible, as in telegraphs, railroads, water and gas supplies, etc., such business becomes a proper

social function which should be controlled and managed by and for the whole people concerned through their proper government, local, State or National, as may be."

CHAPTER XVIII.

NATIONAL COMMITTEES AND PLATFORMS OF THE PARTIES.

Democratic.

<i>Chairman</i>	CALVIN S. BRICE . .	Lima, Ohio
<i>Secretary</i>	S. P. Sheerin	Indianapolis
<i>Treasurer</i>	Charles J. Canda . . .	New York City
Alabama	H. D. Clayton, Jr. . .	Eufaula
Arizona	J. C. Herndon	Prescott
Arkansas	S. P. Hughes	Little Rock
California	M. F. Tarpey	Alameda
Colorado	Chas. S. Thomas . . .	Denver
Connecticut	Carlos French*	Seymour
Delaware	John H. Rodney	Wilmington
District of Columbia	William Dickson	Washington
Florida	Samuel Pasco	Monticello
Georgia	John H. Estill	Savannah
Idaho	John W. Jones	Boise City
Illinois	E. M. Phelps	Chicago
Indiana	S. P. Sheerin	Indianapolis
Iowa	J. J. Richardson	Davenport
Kansas	C. W. Blair	Leavenworth
Kentucky	Henry Watterson † . .	Louisville
Louisiana	James Jeffries	Boyce
Maine	Arthur Sewall	Bath
Maryland	A. P. Gorman	Laurel
Massachusetts	Chas. D. Louis	S. Framingham
Michigan	O. M. Barnes	Lansing
Minnesota	Michael Doran	St. Paul
Mississippi	C. A. Johnston	Columbus

Missouri	John G. Prather	St. Louis
Montana	A. H. Mitchell	Deer Lodge
Nebraska	James E. Boyd	Omaha
Nevada	R. P. Keating	Virginia City
New Hampshire	A. W. Sulloway	Franklin
New Jersey	Miles Ross	New Brunswick
New Mexico	Niel B. Field	Albuquerque
New York	W. F. Sheehan	Buffalo
North Carolina	M. W. Ransom	Weldon
North Dakota	W. R. Purcell	Wahpeton
Ohio	Calvin S. Brice	Lima
Oregon	A. Noltner	Portland
Pennsylvania	Wm. F. Harrity	Philadelphia
Rhode Island	Samuel R. Honey	Newport
South Carolina	John C. Haskell†	Columbia
South Dakota	Wm. R. Steele	Deadwood
Tennessee	R. F. Looney	Memphis
Texas	O. T. Holt	Houston
Utah	Wm. M. Ferry	Park City
Vermont	Hiram Atkins	Montpelier
Virginia	John S. Barbour	Alexandria
Washington	J. A. Kuhn	Port Townsend
West Virginia	Johnson M. Camden	Parkersburg
Wisconsin	John L. Mitchell	Milwaukee
Wyoming	W. L. Kuykendall	Cheyenne.

*Appointed 1889 in place of W. H. Barnum, deceased. †In place of H. D. Henry, deceased. ‡In place of F. W. Dawson, deceased.

PLATFORM, adopted at the St. Louis Convention in June, 1889:

The Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to the Democratic faith and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the convention of 1884, and endorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last annual message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction; and also endorses the efforts of our Democratic Representatives

in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

Chief among its principles of party faith, are the maintenance of an indissoluble union of free and indestructible States, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown; devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written Constitution, strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the States or people the entire ungranted residue of power; the encouragement of a jealous popular vigilance, directed to all who have been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the laws and are charged with the duty of preserving peace, insuring equality and establishing justice.

The Democratic party welcomes an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the executive power, which four years ago was committed to its trust in the election of Grover Cleveland President of the United States; and it challenges the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people.

During a most critical period of our financial affairs, resulting from over-taxation, the anomalous condition of our currency, and a public debt unmaturing, it has, by the adoption of a wise and conservative course, not only averted disaster, but greatly promoted the prosperity of the people.

It has reversed the improvident and unwise pol-

icy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly 100,000,000 of acres of valuable land, to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.

While carefully guarding the interests of the taxpayers, and conforming strictly to the principles of justice and equity, it has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the Republic than was ever paid before during an equal period.

By intelligent management and a judicious and economical expenditure of public money, it has set on foot the reconstruction of the American navy upon a system which forbids the recurrence of scandal and insures successful results.

It has adopted and consistently pursued a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations, while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our own Government and people at home and abroad.

The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been effectually secured under the provisions of a treaty, the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the Senate.

Honest reform in the civil service has been inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland, and he has brought the public service to the highest

standard of efficiency, not only by rule and precept but by the example of his own untiring and unselfish administration of public affairs.

In every branch and department of the Government under Democratic control, the rights and the welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended; every public interest has been protected, and the equality of all our citizens before the law, without regard to race or color, has been steadfastly maintained.

Upon its record thus exhibited and upon the pledge of a continuance to the people of the benefits of good government, the National Democracy invokes a renewal of popular trust by the re-election of a Chief Magistrate who is faithful, able and prudent.

They invoke an addition to that trust by the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire legislative power.

The Republican party, controlling the Senate, and resisting in both houses of Congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws, which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law and the fairness and the justice which is their right. Thus the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretenses; enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets; capital is discouraged

with doubt, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended nor repealed.

The Democratic party will continue, with all the power confided to it, the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its platform, endorsed at the ballot-box by the suffrages of the people.

Of all the industrious freemen of our land an immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from the tax laws, but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation.

All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation.

It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation, the cost of the necessities of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people.

Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed when by unnecessary taxation rusts and combinations are permitted and fostered, which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens, by depriving them as purchasers of the benefits of natural competition. Every democratic rule of governmental action is violated when through unnecessary taxation a vast sum of money, far beyond the needs of an economical administration, is drawn from the people and the channels of trade and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the National Treasury.

The money now lying idle in the Federal Treasury resulting from superfluous taxation, amounts to more

than \$125,000,000, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than \$60,000,000 annually.

Debauched by this immense temptation the Republican party is to meet and exhaust by extravagant appropriations and expenditures, whether constitutional or not, the accumulations of extravagant taxation.

The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in public expense, and to abolish unnecessary taxation.

Our established domestic industries should not and need not be endangered by a reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises, by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continuous operation.

In the interest of American labor, which should in no event be neglected, the revision of our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic party, would promote the advantage of such labor by cheapening the necessities of life in the home of every workingman, and at the same securing to him steady and remunerative employment.

Upon this question of tariff reform, so closely concerning every phase of our national life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government, the Democratic party submits its principles

and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people.

Resolved, That this convention hereby endorses and recommends the early passage of the bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That a just and liberal policy should be pursued in reference to the Territories; that the right of self government is inherent in the people and guaranteed under the Constitution; that the Territories of Washington, Dakota, Montana and New Mexico are by virtue of population and development entitled to admission into the Union as States, and we unqualifiedly condemn the course of the Republican party in refusing Statehood and self-government to the people.

Resolved, That we express our cordial sympathy with the struggling people of all nations in their efforts to secure for themselves the inestimable blessings of self-government and civil and religious liberty, and we especially declare our sympathy with the efforts of those noble patriots who, led by Gladstone and Parnell, have conducted their grand and peaceful contest for home rule in Ireland.

Republican.

<i>Chairman</i>	J. S. CLARKSON . . .	Des Moines
<i>Secretary</i>	J. S. Fassett	Elmira
<i>Treasurer</i>	William G. Barbour .	
Alabama	Wm. Youngblood . .	Birmingham
Arizona	George Christ	Nogales

Arkansas	Powell Clayton	Eureka Springs
California	M. H. De Young	San Francisco
Colorado	W. A. Hamill	Georgetown
Connecticut	S. Fessenden	Stamford
Delaware	D. J. Layton	Georgetown
District of Columbia	P. H. Carson	Washington
Florida	John K. Russell	Oluste
Georgia	F. F. Putney	Hardaway
Idaho	George L. Shoup	Salmon City
Illinois	W. J. Campbell	Chicago
Indiana	John C. New	Indianapolis
Iowa	J. S. Clarkson	Des Moines
Kansas	Cyrus Leland, Jr. . . .	Troy
Kentucky	Wm. O. Bradley	Lancaster
Louisiana	P. B. S. Pinchback . . .	New Orleans
Maine	J. M. Haynes	Augusta
Maryland	James A. Gary	Baltimore
Massachusetts	Henry S. Hyde	Springfield
Michigan	John P. Sanborn	Port Huron
Minnesota	Robert G. Evans	Minneapolis
Mississippi	James Hill	Jackson
Missouri	Chauncy I. Filley	St. Louis
Montana	Charles S. Warren	Butte City
Nebraska	W. M. Robinson	Madison
Nevada	E. Williams	Virginia City
New Hampshire	Parson C. Cheney	Manchester
New Jersey	G. A. Hobart	Paterson
New Mexico	W. L. Ryerson	Las Crusus
New York	J. S. Fassett	Elmira
North Carolina	W. P. Canady	Wilmington
North Dakota	H. C. Hansbrough	Devil's Lake
Ohio	A. L. Conger	Akron
Oklahoma	D. T. Flynn	Guthrie
Oregon	Jonathan Bourne, Jr. . . .	Portland
Pennsylvania	M. S. Quay	Beaver Court House
Rhode Island	Thomas W. Chace	Providence
South Carolina	E. M. Brayton	Columbia
South Dakota	A. C. Mellette	Watertown
Tennessee	W. W. Murray	Huntington
Texas	N. W. Cuney	Galveston
Utah	John R. McBride	Salt Lake City
Vermont	G. W. Hooker	Brattleboro
Virginia	James D. Brady	Petersburg
Washington	T. H. Cavanaugh	Olympia
West Virginia	N. B. Scott	Wheeling
Wisconsin	Henry C. Payne	Milwaukee
Wyoming	J. M. Carey	Cheyenne.

PLATFORM, adopted in National Convention at Chicago, June 21, 1888.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in National Convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader, the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln; and to cover, also, with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders who have more recently been called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished. We also recall with our greetings and with prayer for his recovery the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the Republic—the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan. In the spirit of those great leaders and our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulation to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents.

We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of Home Rule for Ireland.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the Na-

tional Constitution and to the indissoluble union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the State and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot duly counted; we hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our Republican Government and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority.

We charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States; we are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction, as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment.

The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destruc-

tive to the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily endorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican Representatives in Congress in opposing its passage. We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry.

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and a burden to agriculture, and the tax upon the spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes; and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home.

If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behests of the whisky trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and Constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing law

against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens, and we recommend to Congress and the State Legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers, not aliens, which the Republican party established in 1861 against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the Administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of Republicans and Democrats about fifty millions of acres of unearned lands, originally granted for the construction of railroads, have been restored to the public domain in pursuance of

the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic Administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers title to their homesteads and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity only, to the end that they may become States in the Union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence and morals are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted as a right inherent in them to form for themselves constitutions and State governments, and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for Statehood all officers thereof should be selected from the *bona fide* residents and citizens of the Territory wherein they are to serve. South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a State under the constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily endorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills is a wilful violation of the sacred American principle of local self government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate for acts to enable the

people of Washington, North Dakota and Montana Territories to form constitutions and establish State governments shall be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States, such of them as are now qualified as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they become so.

The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories, as exercised in the past, is a menace to free institutions, a danger no longer to be suffered, therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the Nation in all Territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver, and the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

In a republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of

that intelligence which is to preserve us a free Nation. Therefore the State or Nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free ship bill as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our shipyards.

We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy, for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance and other approved modern means of defense for the protection of our defenseless harbors and cities, for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers, for the necessary works of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise and foreign commerce, for the encouragement of the shipping interest of the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country

than the Democratic policy of loaning the Government's money, without interest, to pet banks.

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present Administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice, having withdrawn from the Senate all treaties offered by the Republican Administration for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our foreign commerce and force its extension into better markets. It has neither proposed nor effected any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America, and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, and of our national influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and further coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

We arraign the present Democratic Administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing

vessels receive in ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable national industry and an indispensable resource of defense against a foreign enemy.

The name American applies alike to all citizens of the Republic, and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home, and follow him and protect him abroad in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand.

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, of purity of the ballot, but specially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to-wit: "The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the Republican Administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by

law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable; the spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The gratitude of the Nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledge made by a loyal people and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who wore the Federal uniform shall become the inmate of an almshouse or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing Treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the Government. We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of messages for pension relief and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free trade policy of the present Administration.

Peoples'

Alabama	George F. Gaither . .	Birmingham
Arkansas	L. L. Featherston . .	Forest City
	J. O. A. Bush	Prescott
	I. McCracken	Ozone
California	Marion Cannon . . .	Ventura
	H. C. Dillon	Long Beach
	A. G. Hinckley	Los Angeles
Colorado	I. G. Berry	Montrose
	I. O. Jones	Sterling
	Mrs. E. G. Curtis . .	Canon City
Connecticut	Robert Pyne	Hartford
	Dr. A. S. Houghton .	Seymour
	Charles Corning . . .	New London
Dis. Columbia	Lee Crandall	Washington
	T. C. Bland	Washington
	H. J. Schulteis . . .	Washington
Florida	W. D. Condon	Ocala
	J. D. Goss	Chipley
	W. R. Shields	Ocala
Georgia	C. C. Post	Douglasville
Idaho	J. B. Wright	Caldwell
	M. R. Jenkins	Middleton
	George W. Paul	Parma
Illinois	S. F. Norton	Chicago
	A. J. Streeter	New Windsor
	H. E. Taubeneck . . .	Marshall
Indiana	C. A. Power	Terre Haute
	Leroy Templeton . . .	Boswell
	J. D. Comstock	Elkhart
Iowa	J. B. Weaver	Des Moines
	M. L. Wheat	Colfax
	A. J. Westfall	Sargent Bluff
Kansas	P. P. Elder	Princeton
	Levi Dumbauld	Hartford
	R. S. Osborn	Stockton
Kentucky	D. L. Graves	Louisville
	S. F. Smith	Frankfort
	T. G. Fallin	Troy, Indiana
Louisiana	I. J. Mills	Welsh
	R. B. Paine	Anacoco
	John Pickett	Alden's Bridge
Maine	H. S. Hobbs	Rockland
	F. A. Howard	Belfast
	D. W. Smith	Lewiston

Maryland	E. S. Heffron	Federalsburg
	W. A. Dunning	Washington, D. C.
	R. L. Gulick	East Newmarket
Massachus'ts	G. F. Washburn	Boston
	E. Gerry Brown	Charlestown
	E. M. Boynton	Newburyport
Michigan	Ben Colvin	St. Charles
	Mrs. S. E. V. Emery	Lansing
	John O. Zabel	Petersburgh
Minnesota	I. Donnelly	Hastings
	C. N. Perkins	Stewart
	A. Steenerson	Climax
Mississippi	James D. Lynch	West Point
Missouri	Paul J. Dickson	Chillicothe
	J. W. Rogers	Puxico
	W. O. Atkeson	Butler
Montana	L. A. Woodward	Missoula
	C. W. Coates	Helena
	S. Melville	Butte
Nebraska	J. H. Edmisten	Lexington
	William Dysart	Superior
	W. H. Dech	Ithaca
New Jersey	E. E. Potter	Port Oram
	N. Conover	Clinton
	Rev. H. D. Opdyke	Stanton
New York	J. H. Studer	New York City
	Charles Ward	Livonia
	Lafayette Crum	West Candor
N. Carolina	W. R. Lindsay	Madison
North Dakota	M. D. Williams	Jamestown
	W. J. McCulloch	Jessie
	Mrs. L. W. Sleighter	Bismarck
Ohio	Hugo Preyer	Cleveland
	J. C. H. Cobb	Wellston
	H. F. Barnes	Tiffin
Oklahoma	Sam Crocker	Oklahoma City
	A. E. Light	Reno City
	John Hogan	Guthrie
Oregon	W. H. Galvani	Buxton
	Nathan Pierce	Harrisburg
	J. F. Hendrix	Milton
Pennsylvania	R. A. Thompson	Indiana
	F. R. Agnew	Beaver
	Louis Edwards	Jamestown
Rhode Island	Barth Valette	Providence
	B. F. Arnold	Pawtucket

South Dakota	J. W. Harden	Huron
	H. L. Loucks	Clear Lake
	Fred. Zipp	Deadwood
Tennessee	H. P. Osborne	Fairfield
	John W. James	Chattanooga
	G. W. J. Kay	Fayetteville
Texas	W. R. Lamb	Montague
	Thomas Gaines	Comanche
	J. H. Davis	Sulphur Springs
Washington	M. F. Knox	Seattle
	Two to be elec'd in Dec.	
West Virginia	Luther C. Shinn	Harrison
	G. W. Beaumont	
	Thomas C. Remsey	
Wisconsin	Robert Schilling	Milwaukee
	A. Manheimer	Manitowoc
	A. J. Philips	West Salem
Wyoming	H. D. Merritt	Cheyenne
	H. Breitenstein	Laramie
	James A. Smith	Rock Springs

PLATFORM, adopted at Cincinnati, Ohio, May 20, 1881.

1. That in view of the great social, industrial and economical revolution now dawning upon the civilized world and the new and living issues confronting the American people, we believe that a time has arrived for a crystalization of the political reform forces of our country and the formation of what should be known as the People's party of the United States of America.

2. That we most heartily indorse the demands of the platforms as adopted at St. Louis, Mo., in 1889, Ocala, Fla., in 1890, and Omaha, Neb., in 1891, by industrial organizations there represented, summarized as follows:

(a) The right to make and issue money is a

sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit; hence we demand the abolition of national banks as banks of issue, and as a substitute for national bank notes we demand that legal tender treasury notes be issued in sufficient volume to transact the business of the country on a cash basis, without damage or special advantage to any class or calling, such notes to be legal tender payment of all debts, public and private, and such notes, when demanded by the people, shall be loaned to them at not more than two per cent. per annum upon non-perishable products, as indicated in the sub-treasury plan, and also upon real estate, with proper limitation upon the quantity of land and amount of money.

(b) We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

(c) We demand the passage of laws prohibiting alien ownership of land, and that Congress take prompt action to devise some plan to obtain all lands now owned by alien and foreign syndicates, and that all lands held by railroads and other corporations in excess of such as is actually needed by them be claimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only.

(d) Believing in the doctrine of equal rights to all and special privilege to none, we demand that taxation—national, State or municipal—shall not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another.

(e) We demand that all revenues—national, State or county—shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government economically and honestly administered.

(f) We demand a just and equitable system of graduated tax on income.

(g) We demand the most rigid, honest and just national control and supervision of the means of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision does not remove the evils now existing, we demand the Government ownership of such means of communication and transportation.

(h) We demand the election of President, Vice President, and United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.

3. That we urge the united action of all progressive organizations in attending the conference called for Feb. 22, 1892, by six of the leading reform organizations.

5. That a National Central Committee be appointed by this conference, to be composed of a chairman, to be elected by this body, and of three members from each State represented, to be named by each State delegation.

5. That this Central Committee shall represent this body, attend the national conference February 22, 1892, and if possible unite with that and all the other reform organizations there assembled. If no satisfactory arrangement can be effected, this committee

shall call a National Convention not later than June 1, 1892, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice President.

6. That the members of the Central Committee for each State where there is no independent political organization, conduct an active system of political agitation in their respective States.

Additional resolutions were carried as follows:

Resolved, That the question of universal suffrage be recommended to the favorable consideration of the various States and Territories.

Resolved, That while the party in power in 1869 pledged the faith of the Nation to pay a debt in coin that had been contracted on a depreciated currency basis, and payable in currency, thus adding nearly \$1,000,000,000 to the burdens of the people, which meant gold for the bondholders and depreciated currency for the soldiers, and holding that the men who imperiled their lives to save the life of a nation should have been paid in money as good as that paid to the bondholder; we demand the issue of legal-tender treasury notes in sufficient amount to make the pay of the soldiers equal to par with coin, or such other legislation as shall do equal and exact justice to the Union soldiers of this country.

Resolved, That as eight hours constitute a legal day's work for Government employees in mechanical departments, we believe this principle should be further extended so as to apply to all corporations em-

ploying labor in the different States of the Union.

Resolved, That this conference condemns in unmeasured terms the action of the directors of the Columbian Exposition on May 19, in refusing the minimum rate of wages asked for by the labor organizations of Chicago.

Resolved, That the Attorney General of the United States should make immediate provision to submit the act of March 2, 1889, providing for the opening of Oklahoma to homestead settlement, to the United States Supreme Court so that the expensive and dilatory legislation now pending there be ended.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS FROM THE BEGINNING,
WITH VOTE, DATE AND POLITICS.

First Election, 1788.—George Washington, Federalist, elected without opposition, receiving 56 electoral votes.

John Adams was chosen Vice President.*

Second, 1792.—Same result as first, the electoral vote having increased to 77 and all cast for Washington.

*There is no authentic record of the popular vote prior to the election of 1824, at which point it begins in this Chapter.

Third, 1796.—John Adams, Federalist, elected, receiving 71 votes to 68 for Thomas Jefferson, Democrat-Republican.

The latter was chosen Vice President.

Fourth, 1800.—Thomas Jefferson chosen, receiving 73 votes to 65 for John Adams.

Aaron Burr elected Vice President.

Fifth, 1804.—Thomas Jefferson re-elected, his opponent being C. C. Pinckney, Federalist. The vote stood 162 to 14.

George Clinton elected Vice-President.

Sixth, 1808.—The candidates were James Madison, Democrat-Republican, Charles C. Pinckney and George Clinton, Republicans. The vote stood respectively 122, 47, 6.

Clinton again chosen Vice President.

Seventh, 1812.—James Madison again elected, defeating De Witt Clinton, Federalist, by a vote of 128 to 89.

Vice President, Elbridge Gerry.

Eighth, 1816.—James Monroe, Democrat-Republican, vs. Rufus King, Federalist, the result being 183 to 34 in favor of the former.

Daniel D. Tompkins, Vice President.

Ninth, 1820.—Both the last named re-elected unanimously except one vote given to John Quincy Adams, Federalist-Republican, for President.

Tenth, 1824.—There were four candidates in the field—John Q. Adams, Andrew Jackson, Wm. H. Crawford and Henry Clay, all Democrat-Republicans. The electoral vote stood in the order named—99, 84, 41, 37;* popular vote—105,321, 155,872, 44,282, 46,587. Vice President, John C. Calhoun.

Eleventh, 1828.—Andrew Jackson, Democrat, defeated John Q. Adams by an electoral vote of 187 to 82 and a popular vote of 647,231 to 509,097.

Calhoun re-elected Vice President.

Twelfth, 1832.—Jackson was re-elected President opposed by Henry Clay, Whig, John Floyd, Nullification, and William Wirt, Anti-Masonic, the vote being—electoral, 219, 49, 11, 7; popular, 687,502, 530,189, 33,108. (No record of Wirt's popular vote).

Vice President, Martin Van Buren.

Thirteenth, 1836.—This contest developed five candidates—Van Buren, Democrat; W. H. Harrison, Whig; Daniel Webster, Whig; Henry L. White, Anti-Van Buren, and William P. Mangum, Anti-Van Buren, the electoral vote being—170, 73, 14, 26, 11, and the popular vote—Van Buren, 761,549, all others, 736,656.

R. M. Johnson, Vice President.

Fourteenth, 1840.—Harrison defeated Van Buren this time, receiving 234 electoral and 1,275,017 popular votes, against 60 and 1,128,702.

*The election was by the House of Representatives, Adams being chosen.

Vice President, John Tyler.*

The "Liberty" or Abolition party, with James G. Birney at its head, got 7,509 popular votes—no others.

Fifteenth, 1844.—James K. Polk, Democrat, and Henry Clay were the candidates, the choice falling on the former, the vote being 170 to 105 electoral, and 1,337,243 to 1,299,068 popular.

Vice President, George M. Dallas.

Sixteenth, 1848.—Zachary Taylor, Whig, elected over Lewis Cass, Democrat. Vote—163 to 127 electoral, 1,360,101 to 1,220,544 popular.

Vice President, Millard Fillmore.†

Gerritt Smith and Van Buren each received a few popular but no electoral votes for President at this election, the former representing the Liberty League.

Seventeenth, 1852.—Franklin Pierce defeated Winfield Scott by the decisive majority of 212 votes—254 to 42; popular vote, 1,601,474 to 1,386,578.

John P. Hale ran as a "Free Democrat," receiving only 291,263 popular votes.

William R. King was chosen Vice President.

Eighteenth, 1856.—Three candidates—James Buchanan, John C. Fremont and Millard Fillmore. The vote for the first was 254 electoral and 1,838,169

*President Harrison died April 4, 1841, and Tyler thus became President.

†President Taylor died July 9th, 1849, and Fillmore thus became President.

popular; for the second, 114 and 1,341,264; third 8 and 874,535.

Vice President, John C. Breckenridge.

Nineteenth, 1860.—This was the greatest contest of all and is the subject of a special chapter. There were four great parties, each with an immense following and each representing not merely partisan but national issues also—issues upon which the fate of the Republic hung.

Abraham Lincoln (Illinois) was the candidate of the Republican party, and was elected, with Hannibal Hamlin (Maine) for Vice President, receiving 180 electoral and 1,817,352 popular votes, all from Northern States.

John C. Breckenridge (Kentucky) and Joseph Lane (Oregon), Southern Democracy, polled the next highest electoral vote—72, all from the South, and 845,763 popular votes.

Stephen A. Douglas (Illinois) and Herschel V. Johnson (Georgia), Northern Democracy, received 12 electoral and 1,376,157 popular votes.

The Constitutional Union party, led by John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts, obtained 39 electoral and 589,581 popular votes.

Twentieth, 1864.—President Lincoln re-elected, receiving 212 electoral and 2,216,067 popular votes against 21 and 1,808,725 for George B. McClellan, Democrat.

Andrew Johnson was elected Vice President on the ticket with Lincoln.*

*President Lincoln was assassinated April 14, 1865, the Presidency thus devolving upon Johnson.

Twenty-first, 1868.—Ulysses S. Grant, Republican, was elected over Horatio Seymour, Democrat. Vote, 214 to 80 and 3,915,071 to 2,709,613.

Schuyler Colfax was chosen Vice President.

Twenty-second, 1872.—Grant re-elected over Horace Greeley, Democrat and Liberal Republican, by a vote of 286 to 62 electoral* and 3,597,071 to 2,834,079 popular.

In this election, a "Straight-out Democratic" ticket headed by Charles O'Connor received a handful of popular votes.

Twenty-third, 1876.—Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, was declared chosen after a hot contest (decided by a specially chosen commission) over Samuel J. Tilden, Democrat, the vote standing 185 to 184 electoral and 4,032,950 to 4,284,885 popular.

Twenty-fourth, 1880.—James A. Garfield, Republican, defeated Winfield S. Hancock, Democrat, by a vote of 215 to 155, electoral and 4,450,921 to 4,447,888 popular.

Chester A. Arthur was chosen Vice President.†

The Greenback party ran James B. Weaver and the Prohibitionists Neal Dow for President, the former receiving 308,578 and the latter 10,305 popular votes.

Twenty-fifth, 1884.—The first break in the Re-

*These votes were not all cast for Greeley, who had died; they were, however, chosen for him.

†President Garfield died September 19th, 1881, having been shot by an assassin July 2 of that year; this made Arthur President.

publican line since 1860 occurred, Grover Cleveland, Democrat, being elected over James G. Blaine, Republican, the vote being 219 to 182 electoral and 4,874,986 to 4,851,981 popular.

Thomas A. Hendricks was elected Vice President.

The Greenbackers and Prohibitionists each had a ticket, but their combined vote (popular) was only 325,739.

Twenty-sixth, 1888.—Benjamin Harrison, Republican, defeated Cleveland, the vote being 223 to 168 electoral and 5,440,216 to 5,538,233 popular.

Levi P. Morton was chosen Vice President.

The Prohibition party polled 249,207, the combined Labor parties, 150,913, and the Americans (California) 1,591 popular votes.

CHAPTER XX.

CABINET OFFICERS FROM WASHINGTON TO HARRISON,
INCLUSIVE.

Secretaries of State.

<i>Number and Name.</i>	<i>Appointed.</i>
1 Thomas Jefferson.....	Sept. 26, 1789
Thomas Jefferson.....	March 4, 1793
2 Edmund Randolph	Jan. 2, 1794
3 Timothy Pickering.....	Dec. 10, 1795
Timothy Pickering.....	March 4, 1797
4 John Marshall	May 13, 1800
5 James Madison.....	March 5, 1801

	James Madison	March 4, 1805
6	Robert Smith	March 6, 1809
7	James Monroe	April 2, 1811
	James Monroe	March 4, 1813
8	John Quincy Adams	March 5, 1817
	John Quincy Adams	March 5, 1821
9	Henry Clay	March 7, 1825
10	Martin Van Buren	March 6, 1829
11	Edward Livingston	May 24, 1831
12	Louis McLane	May 29, 1833
13	John Forsyth	June 27, 1834
	John Forsyth	March 4, 1837
14	Daniel Webster.....	March 5, 1841
	Daniel Webster.....	April 6, 1841
15	Hugh S. Legare	May 9, 1843
16	Abel P. Upshur	July 24, 1843
17	John C. Calhoun	March 6, 1844
18	James Buchanan.....	March 6, 1845
19	John M. Clayton.....	March 7, 1849
	Daniel Webster	July 22, 1850
20	Edward Everett	Nov. 6, 1852
21	William L. Marcy	March 7, 1853
22	Lewis Cass	March 6, 1857
23	Jeremiah S. Black	Dec. 17, 1860
24	William H. Seward	March 5, 1861
	William H. Seward	March 4, 1865
	William H. Seward	April 15, 1865
25	Elihu B. Washburne.....	March 5, 1869
26	Hamilton Fish	March 11, 1869
	Hamilton Fish	March 4, 1873
27	William M. Evarts	March 12, 1877
28	James G. Blaine	March 5, 1881
29	F. T. Frelinghuysen,	Dec. 12, 1881
30	T. F. Bayard	March 6, 1885
21	James G. Blaine ...	March 6, 1889

Secretaries of the Treasury.

<i>Number and Name.</i>	<i>Appointed.</i>
1 Alexander Hamilton	Sept. 11, 1789
Alexander Hamilton	March 4, 1793
2 Oliver Wolcott	Feb. 2, 1795
Oliver Wolcott	March 4, 1797
3 Samuel Dexter	Jan. 1, 1801
4 Albert Gallatin	May 14, 1801
Albert Gallatin	March 4, 1809
Albert Gallatin	March 4, 1813
5 George W. Campbell	Feb. 8, 1814
6 Alexander J. Dallas	Oct. 6, 1814
7 William H. Crawford	Oct. 22, 1816
William H. Crawford	March 5, 1817
William H. Crawford	March 5, 1821
8 Richard Rush	March 7, 1825
9 Samuel D. Ingham	March 6, 1829
10 Louis McLane	Aug. 2, 1831
11 William J. Duane	May 29, 1833
12 Roger B. Taney	Sept. 23, 1833
13 Levi Woodbury	June 27, 1834
Levi Woodbury	March 4, 1837
14 Thomas Ewing	March 5, 1841
Thomas Ewing	April 6, 1841
15 Walter Forward	Sept. 13, 1841
16 John C. Spencer	March 3, 1843
17 George M. Bibb	June 15, 1844
18 Robert J. Walker	March 6, 1845
19 William M. Meredith	March 8, 1849
20 Thomas Corwin	July 23, 1850
21 James Guthrie	March 7, 1853
22 Howell Cobb	March 6, 1853
23 Philip F. Thomas	Dec. 12, 1860
24 John A. Dix	Jan. 11, 1861
25 Salmon P. Chase	March 7, 1861
26 William P. Fessenden	July 1, 1864
27 Hugh McCulloch	March 7, 1865
Hugh McCulloch	April 15, 1865
28 George S. Boutwell	March 11, 1869
29 William A. Richardson	March 17, 1873
30 Benjamin H. Bristow	June 4, 1874
31 Lot M. Morrill	July 7, 1876
32 John Sherman	March 8, 1877
33 William Windom	March 5, 1881
34 Charles J. Folger	Oct. 27, 1881
35 Walter Q. Gresham	Oct. 24, 1884
36 Hugh McCulloch	Oct. 28, 1884
37 Daniel Manning	March 6, 1885
38 William Windom	March 6, 1889
39 Charles Foster	1890

Secretaries of War.

<i>Number and Name.</i>	<i>Appointed.</i>
1 Henry Knox	Sept. 12, 1789
Henry Knox	March 4, 1793
2 Timothy Pickering	Jan. 2, 1795
3 James McHenry	Jan. 27, 1796
James McHenry	March 4, 1797
4 Samuel Dexter	May 13, 1800
5 Roger Griswold	Feb. 3, 1801
6 Henry Dearborn	March 5, 1801
Henry Dearborn	March 4, 1805
7 William Eustis	March 7, 1809
8 John Armstrong	Jan. 18, 1813
John Armstrong	March 4, 1813
9 James Monroe	Sept. 27, 1814
10 William H. Crawford	Aug. 1, 1815
11 George Graham	<i>ad interim.</i>
12 John C. Calhoun	Oct. 8, 1817
John C. Calhoun	March 5, 1821
13 James Barbour	March 7, 1825
14 Peter B. Porter	May 26, 1828
15 John H. Eaton	March 9, 1829
16 Lewis Cass	Aug. 1, 1851
Lewis Cass	March 4, 1853
17 Joel R. Poinsett	March 7, 1837
18 John Bell	March 5, 1841
John Bell	April 6, 1841
19 John C. Spencer	Oct. 12, 1841
20 James M. Porter	March 8, 1843
21 William Wilkins	Feb. 15, 1844
22 William L. Marcy	March 6, 1845
23 George W. Crawford	March 8, 1849
24 Charles M. Conrad	Aug. 15, 1850
25 Jefferson Davis	March 5, 1853
26 John B. Floyd	March 6, 1857
27 Joseph Holt	Jan. 18, 1861
28 Simon Cameron	March 5, 1861
29 Edwin M. Stanton	Jan. 15, 1862
Edwin M. Stanton	March 4, 1865
Edwin M. Stanton	April 15, 1865
30 Ulysses S. Grant, <i>ad int.</i>	Aug. 12, 1867
31 Lorenzo Thomas, <i>ad int.</i>	Feb. 21, 1868
32 John M. Schofield	May 25, 1868
33 John A. Rawlins	March 11, 1869
34 William T. Sherman	Sept. 9, 1869
35 William W. Belknap	Oct. 25, 1869
William W. Belknap	March 4, 1873
36 Alphonso Taft	March 8, 1876
37 James D. Cameron	May 22, 1876
38 George W. McCrary	March 12, 1877
39 Alexander Ramsey	Dec. 10, 1879
40 Robert T. Lincoln	March 5, 1881
41 William C. Endicott	March 6, 1885
42 Redfield S. Proctor	March 6, 1889
43 Stephen B. Elkins	Nov. 1891

Secretaries of the Navy.

<i>Number and Name.</i>	<i>Appointed.</i>
1 Benjamin Stoddert	May 21, 1796
Benjamin Stoddert	March 4, 1801
2 Robert Smith	July 15, 1801
3 J. Crowninshield	March 3, 1805
4 Paul Hamilton	March 7, 1809
5 William Jones	Jan. 12, 1813
William Jones	March 4, 1813
6 B. W. Crowninshield	Dec. 19, 1814
B. W. Crowninshield	March 14, 1817
7 Smith Thompson	Nov. 9, 1818
Smith Thompson	March 5, 1821
8 Samuel L. Southard	Sept. 16, 1823
Samuel L. Southard	March 4, 1825
9 John Branch	March 9, 1829
10 Levi Woodbury	May 23, 1831
Levi Woodbury	March 4, 1833
11 Mahlon Dickerson	June 30, 1834
Mahlon Dickerson	March 4, 1837
12 James K. Paulding	June 25, 1838
13 George E. Badger	March 5, 1841
George E. Badger	April 6, 1841
14 Abel P. Upshur	Sept. 13, 1841
15 David Henshaw	July 24, 1843
16 Thomas W. Gilmer	Feb. 15, 1844
17 John Y. Mason	March 14, 1844
18 George Bancroft	March 10, 1845
19 John Y. Mason	Sept. 9, 1846
20 William B. Preston	March 8, 1849
21 William A. Graham	July 22, 1850
22 John P. Kennedy	July 22, 1852
23 James C. Dobbin	March 7, 1853
24 Isaac Toucey	March 6, 1857
25 Gideon Welles	March 5, 1861
Gideon Welles	March 4, 1865
Gideon Welles	April 15, 1865
26 Adolph E. Borie	March 5, 1869
27 George M. Robeson	June 25, 1869
George M. Robeson	March 4, 1873
28 Richard W. Thompson	March 12, 1877
29 Nathan Goff, Jr.	Jan. 6, 1881
30 William H. Hunt	March 5, 1881
31 William E. Chandler	April 1, 1882
32 William C. Whitney	March 6, 1885
33 B. F. Tracy	March 6, 1889

Secretaries of the Interior.

<i>Number and Name.</i>	<i>Appointed.</i>
1 Thomas Ewing	March 8, 1849
2 Alex. H. H. Stuart	Sept. 12, 1850
3 Robert McClelland	March 7, 1853
4 Jacob Thompson	March 6, 1857

5	Caleb B. Smith	March	5, 1861
6	John P. Usher	Jan.	8, 1863
	John P. Usher	March	4, 1865
	John P. Usher	April	15, 1865
7	James Harlan	May	15, 1865
8	Orville H. Browning	July	27, 1866
9	Jacob D. Cox	March	5, 1869
10	Columbus Delano	Nov.	1, 1870
	Columbus Delano	March	4, 1873
11	Zachariah Chandler	Oct.	19, 1875
12	Carl Schurz	March	12, 1877
13	Samuel J. Kirkwood	March	5, 1881
14	Henry M. Teller	April	6, 1882
15	L. Q. C. Lamar	March	6, 1885
16	William F. Vilas		1888
17	John W. Noble	March	6, 1889

Postmasters-General.

<i>Number and Name.</i>	<i>Appointed.</i>
1 Samuel Osgood	Sept. 26, 1789
2 Timothy Pickering	Aug. 12, 1791
Timothy Pickering	March 4, 1793
3 Joseph Habersham	Feb. 25, 1795
Joseph Habersham	March 4, 1797
Joseph Habersham	March 4, 1801
4 Gideon Granger	Nov. 28, 1801
Gideon Granger	March 4, 1805
Gideon Granger	March 4, 1809
5 Return J. Meigs, Jr.	March 17, 1814
Return J. Meigs, Jr.	March 4, 1817
Return J. Meigs, Jr.	March 5, 1821
6 John McLean	June 26, 1823
John McLean	March 4, 1825
7 William T. Barry	March 9, 1829
William T. Barry	March 4, 1833
8 Amos Kendall	May 1, 1835
Amos Kendall	March 4, 1837
9 John M. Niles	May 25, 1840
10 Francis Granger	March 6, 1841
Francis Granger	April 6, 1841
11 Charles A. Wickliffe	Sept. 13, 1841
12 Cave Johnson	March 6, 1845
13 Jacob Collamer	March 8, 1849
14 Nathan K. Hall	July 28, 1850
25 Samuel D. Hubbard	Aug. 31, 1852
16 James Campbell	March 5, 1853
17 Aaron V. Brown	March 6, 1857
18 Joseph Holt	March 14, 1859
19 Horatio King	Feb. 12, 1861
20 Montgomery Blair	March 5, 1861
21 William Dennison	Sept. 24, 1864
William Dennison	March 4, 1865
William Dennison	April 15, 1865
22 Alexander W. Randall	July 25, 1866

23	John A. J. Creswell	March	5, 1869
	John A. J. Creswell	March	4, 1873
24	James W. Marshall	July	7, 1874
25	Marshall Jewell	Aug.	24, 1874
26	James N. Tyner	July	12, 1876
27	David McK. Key	March	12, 1877
28	Horace Maynard	June	2, 1880
29	Thomas L. James	March	5, 1881
30	Timothy O. Howe	Dec.	20, 1881
31	Walter Q. Gresham	April	3, 1883
32	Frank Hatton	Oct.	14, 1884
33	William F. Vilas	March	6, 1885
34	Don M. Dickinson		1888
35	John Wanamaker	March	6, 1889

Attorneys-General.

<i>Number and Name.</i>	<i>Appointed.</i>
1 Edmund Randolph	Sept. 26, 1789
Edmund Randolph	March 4, 1793
2 William Bradford	Jan. 27, 1794
3 Charles Lee	Dec. 10, 1795
Charles Lee	March 4, 1797
4 Theophilus Parsons	Feb. 20, 1801
5 Levi Lincoln	March 5, 1801
6 Robert Smith	March 3, 1805
7 John Breckenridge	Aug. 7, 1805
8 Cæsar A. Rodney	Jan. 28, 1807
Cæsar A. Rodney	March 4, 1809
9 William Pinckney	Dec. 11, 1811
William Pinckney	March 4, 1813
10 Richard Rush	Feb. 10, 1814
Richard Rush	March 4, 1817
11 William Wirt	Nov. 13, 1817
William Wirt	March 5, 1821
12 John M. Berrien	March 4, 1825
13 Roger B. Taney	March 9, 1829
Roger B. Taney	July 20, 1831
14 Benjamin F. Butler	March 4, 1833
Benjamin F. Butler	Nov. 15, 1833
15 Felix Grundy	March 4, 1837
16 Henry D. Gilpin	July 5, 1838
17 John J. Crittenden	Jan. 11, 1840
John J. Crittenden	March 5, 1841
18 Hugh S. Legare	April 6, 1841
19 John Nelson	Sept. 13, 1841
20 John Y. Mason	July 1, 1843
21 Nathan Clifford	March 6, 1845
22 Isaac Toucey	Oct. 17, 1846
23 Revere Johnson	June 21, 1848
24 John J. Crittenden	March 8, 1849
25 Caleb Cushing	July 22, 1850
26 Jeremiah S. Black	March 7, 1853
27 Edwin M. Stanton	March 6, 1857
Edwin M. Stanton	Dec. 20, 1860
28 Edwin Bates	March 5, 1861

	Titian J. Coffey <i>ad int.</i>	June 22, 1863
29	James Speed	Dec. 2, 1864
	James Speed	March 4, 1865
	James Speed	April 15, 1865
30	Henry Stansberry	July 23, 1866
31	William M. Everts	July 15, 1866
32	E. Rockwood Hoar	March 5, 1869
33	Amos T. Akerman	June 23, 1870
34	George H. Williams	Dec 14, 1871
	George H. Williams	March 4, 1873
35	Edwards Pierrepont	April 26, 1875
36	Alphonso Taft	May 22, 1876
37	Charles Devens	March 12, 1877
38	Wayne MacVeagh	March 5, 1881
39	Benjamin H. Brewster	Dec. 19, 1881
40	A. H. Garland	March 6, 1885
41	W. H. H. Miller	March 6, 1889

Secretaries of Agriculture.

<i>Number and Name.</i>	<i>Appointed.</i>
1 Norman J. Coleman	January, 1889
2 Jeremiah M. Rusk	March 6, 1889

CHAPTER XXI.

PREVAILING POLITICAL TERMS EXPLAINED.

Ad Interim. Holding office until it is otherwise filled.

Alliance, Farmers'. A quasi political organization, recently merged into the People's party. (See page 58.)

Alternate. A substitute for a principal, who acts only in the latter's absence; usually applied to delegates to a convention.

Apportionment. Assignment of political districts and their representation.

Assessment. A levy made upon members of a party to pay expenses.

Assemblyman. In nearly all the States, a member of the lower house of the Legislature is so called.

Australian Ballot. See page 73.

Bar'l. When a candidate has an abundance of money and is willing to spend it, he is said to have a bar'l.

Billion Dollar Congress. See page 45.

Bolt. To repudiate the regular nominee of one's party—rarely done and seldom forgiven.

Boom. The enthusiasm created for a candidate before the convention meets.

Boss. An unscrupulous party leader whose will and influence are supreme or nearly so.

Boodler. One who sells his vote or influence to a company, corporation or individual to secure franchises or special privileges for them; usually applied to members of a city council who thus transgress.

Bourbon. The old style, the past days of politics; an old school politician.

Bulldoze. To intimidate or try to do so, especially a voter.

Break. When, in a convention, the ballotings for a candidate have become numerous and there seems no special advantage to any one, if a delegation lets its choice drop and goes in a body for some other man at such a time and in such a manner as to cause a stampede in that direction, this is a break.

Cabal. A more or less private combination of politicians.

Campaign. The period intervening between nominations and the election, in which the parties present their claims upon and inducements for the people's support.

Canvass. The efforts made by party representatives during a campaign, in speaking, circulating documents, etc.

Caucus. A private meeting of members of a party to agree upon concerted action.

Challenger. One who disputes another's right to vote.

Checker. One who keeps tally of the votes cast at an election.

Clique. See Cabal.

Cloture, or Closure. A rule by which discussion of a question or measure is shut off and the matter brought to a result at once.

Coalition. A union of previously opposing elements to accomplish a common purpose.

Combine. The "getting together" of men engaged in certain lines of business to control the market.

Committee of the Whole. A general consultation by the House of Representatives on some measure (usually financial); the Speaker vacates the chair, a chairman is chosen, and the rules are measurably relaxed.

Confederate. Usually a Secessionist soldier or statesman.

Conservative. A partisan of moderate views.

Congressman. This word, without qualification, means a member of the national House of Representatives.

Contest. Opposing anothers' right to an office, or franchise; an action brought by a claimant.

Copperhead. A term applied to Northern people opposed to the civil war.

Councilman. A member of a council; in Utah this applies only to cities.

Councilor. In the Territories, a member of the upper house, of the Legislature; elsewhere, a member of a city council.

Dark Horse. An obscure candidate before a convention who develops unexpected strength.

De Facto. The one who holds an office or franchise in fact, without reference to his legal title is a *de facto* holder; this applies particularly when the title is questioned or contested.

De Jure. One whose right to an office or franchise has been adjudicated, or is sound in law, has a *de jure* title whether he has the office or not.

Delegate. In politics, a party's representative in a convention or other gathering; in Congress, a representative of a Territory; in some of the States, a member of the lower house of the Legislature.

Double Standard. See "Silver Question," page 55.

Eating Crow. Opposing a man or measure vigorously, and afterwards yielding to a pressure to support him or it.

Elector. See page 11.

Electoral College. Ibid.

Executive. The President or Governor.

Ex Officio. Because of holding another and corresponding office.

Executive Session. A secret session of the Senate for the transaction of executive business.

Exequatur. Written recognition of an official representative by the power to which he is sent.

Faction. A party within a party.

Favorite Son. A candidate whose nomination his State specially desires.

Fence, on the. To be uncertain or indifferent as to who or which party wins.

Filibuster. To resort to dilatory tactics to postpone as long as possible, if not defeat, an obnoxious measure.

Five-Cent Congress. A derisive name applied to the present National House of Representatives by the Republicans; an offset to the "Billion Dollar Congress."

Flimflammer. A juggler with ballots; one who changes votes by clever manipulation.

Floor. One who is addressing the chair by right has the floor.

Force Bill. See page 51.

Free Coinage. The unrestricted coinage into money of gold and silver.

Freedmen. The former slaves of the Southerners.

Free Silver. The coinage of silver without restriction or limit.

Free Trade. The abolition of custom duties; also applied by the Republicans to the doctrine of tariff reduction.

Fusion. See Coalition.

Gang. A coterie of "reliable" voters who will obey the boss unquestioningly.

Gerrymander. To re-arrange Congressional districts in such a way as to give the party re-arranging additional representatives and cut down the opposition correspondingly.

Goldbug. An advocate of a gold standard, a silver demonetizer, a financier with such views.

Hack. An "old-timer" in a party who has worked himself out.

Heeler. A worker for a party or candidate who is not overly choice as to his methods.

Home Rule. A condition of things for Utah by means of which all local officials will be made elective; Statehood without the State.

Hustings. In American politics, the active canvass made by candidates and their partisans. (Seldom used.)

Instructions. Generally, the action which a primary or convention requires its delegates to take, regarding candidates or measures, in the convention to which the delegates are sent.

Jollification. The "hurrah" indulged in by the successful party after an election.

Jubilation. Ibid.

Large, at. From the whole State or Territory; not confined to a district or districts.

Letter of Acceptance. The formal acceptance in writing by a candidate of his nomination. This is not as a rule used by those nominated to any position inferior to Congressman, and very seldom by them.

Liberal. (Local.) A politician whose rule of political action is opposition to the Mormon Church in its secular capacity; many Liberals, however, oppose Mormonism in its entirety.

Little Brown Man. A Chinaman.

Lobby. The influence brought to bear upon legislators by interested parties not themselves members; those who use such influence.

Logrolling. Arranging details, laying plans, perfecting schemes looking to the accomplishment of a specific purpose.

Majority. The excess of votes over and above all others combined.

Mare Clausem. Closed sea; the case of a nation shutting other nations out from adjacent waters.

Mason & Dixon's Line. Originally, the southern boundary of Pennsylvania; of late years, the dividing line between the North and South.

Maverick. A voter who is open for an engagement; he belongs to the first party that picks him up.

Modus Vivendi. Literally, "mode of living;" conventionally, a means of preserving and applied to the seals in Behring Sea—an agreement to that end between the United States and Great Britain.

Mossback. An old-fashioned fellow with antiquated notions.

Mugwump. One who professes to hold himself above politics but constantly gets down and actively participates; too much of a Republican to be a Democrat and too Democratic to be a Republican.

Naturalize. To make a citizen of an alien; accomplished only in a Federal court after a certain term of residence, good behavior, a reasonable understanding of our institutions and a preference for them over any others.

Native Citizen. One born on our soil.

Nominate. To place a name before a convention or confirming body; to select a candidate.

Old Glory. An inelegant and seldom used epithet for the United States flag.

Organ. A newspaper which officially represents a party, a faction or an individual.

Organic Act. The Constitution of a Territory, passed by Congress.

Pack. To "stock" a convention or other gathering with enough partisans of a certain stripe to carry out a set programme.

Pair. To arrange with a member of the opposition to not vote on a pending question, so that one's absence will make no numerical difference.

Parliamentary. According to the rules of legislation, deliberation and discussion.

Paster. A slip of paper bearing the name of a candidate on one side and gummed on the other, used for placing over some other name on a ballot.

Persona Grata. An acceptable person.

Pipelaying. See Logrolling.

Plank. One of the declarations in a party's platform.

Platform. The array of principles, promises, demands and compliments adopted by a political party in convention.

Plurality. The number of votes a successful candidate has over the next highest when there are more than two voted for, but not over all others, in which respect it differs from majority.

Polls. The place or places where voting is carried on at a public election.

Pool. An arrangement between companies or indi-

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viduals by means of which their gains are combined and divided *pro rata*.

Pothouse Politician. A low-grade demagogue.

Previous Question. A parliamentary rule; moved and carried it suspends debate on a pending question and brings it to a vote at once.

Primary. See page 21.

Protection. See Chapter VII, page 31.

Pro Tem. During a temporary vacancy.

Proxy. A substitute for a delegate or committeeman not otherwise provided for.

Pull. Political influence amounting to ability to control now and then.

Radical. The opposite of Conservative, which see.

Ratification. A public meeting to endorse the work of a convention.

Redistricting. See Gerrymander.

Returns. The reported footings of an election.

Ring. See Cabal.

Roorback. A false or malicious report or statement; a canard.

Salt River. When a candidate is defeated, he is said to take a trip up this stream.

Sawing Wood. Taking things quietly and keeping a sharp lookout for the main chance.

Scratch. To erase a name from a ballot whether in favor of some one else or not.

Second. To endorse a motion and thus put it before the house or gathering for disposition.

Shibboleth. The means by which one party is distinguished from another, especially a cry.

Side-tracked. Set aside in order that some one or something else may be considered.

Single Tax. See page 74.

Slogan. The party watchword or call.

Snowed Under. Overwhelming defeat.

Solid South. The unanimity of the Southern States for Democracy in Presidential and nearly all other elections.

Speaker. The presiding officer of the lower house.

Stalwart. An uncompromising partisan, usually applied to a Republican of this kind.

State Rights. What a State may do without reference to the Nation; autonomy.

Steering Committee. A committee to negotiate, make arrangements and define the plan of action.

Straw. An indication of how things political are going.

Striker. See Heeler.

Stump. Public speaking for a party during a campaign.

Tally. To keep the number of votes as they are cast or counted.

Tammany. A Democratic society of New York City with a considerable membership and great influence.

Tariff. See Capter VII, page 31.

Teller. One who counts and announces a vote.

Third House. The lobby and all others (except members and officers) who frequent halls of legislation.

Ticket. The ballot used at an election; the complete list of candidates.

Tiger. A designation applied to Tammany by New York Republicans.

Trust. A huge commercial combination of some special business, designed to control markets, regulate prices and increase profits at the expense of the people.

Turned Down. Abandoned, thrown overboard for the present.

Tuscarora. A Liberal society of Utah whose members have Democratic proclivities.

Ultimatum. The last terms to be offered; the only terms on which a peaceful settlement can be had.

Utonian. A citizen of Utah.

Veto. An executive's written objections to a measure passed by the legislative body; his refusal to assent thereto.

White House. The President's residence at Washington.

White Metal. Silver.

Whitewash. To excuse one or more charged with an offense by explaining it away or resorting to extraneous commendation.

Wigwam. A hall constructed for political gatherings.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE LOCAL POLITICAL SITUATION.

As briefly noted in the Preface, things political in Utah have changed, this condition having as a natural antecedent a change regarding that subject among the people themselves. It will scarcely be contested by even the opponents of division on national lines that those who have adopted such rule of conduct

have at least made out a *prima facie* case of sincerity and genuineness; that is, the evidence to that end is direct if not conclusive, and the only element involved concerning which a controversy could properly arise would be that of actual good faith corresponding with the overt acts.

The writer would be confronted with a maze of difficulties in preparing such a work as this—would, in fact, have but little excuse for offering it at this time—did he not subscribe heart and soul to the division movement and believe thoroughly in its genuineness. While having endeavored all the way through to maintain a neutral attitude in the discussion of every subject presented, and intending to do so here, he would, even if he did not believe as stated, be compelled to assume that everything that had been done and is doing in that direction is meant for what it appears to be. The sincerity of those who take different ground is not brought into question, but for the reasons named their view of the case cannot be accepted as even a basis of discussion. To do so would be to admit that there are no real political distinctions in Utah; that the majority of the people have no more to do with independent politics than the Indians have with the Pandects of Justinian; that their spiritual guides are, as in days ago, their principal source of instruction, and that they care for no other form of politics or political guidance—to admit, in a word, that the conditions which existed when complete iso-

lation held sway, and the people were, to some extent at least, justified in looking to those who had successfully led and directed them for advice, still remain, almost if not quite unchanged in reality. If we are to assume that attrition with conflicting elements counts for nothing among the better races of mankind and that habits born of sheer necessity are ineradicable; if we admit that there is and can be no such thing as mental and social evolution among a people because for years cut off from society and hedged in on all sides by animate and inanimate nature of practically irreclaimable character; if we adopt the idea of intellectual inertia among a people who have shown, notwithstanding their discouragements and drawbacks, most remarkable capacity for learning and acting up to what they learn; if we maintain that there is less psychological power in the mind, less of human impulse in the heart and less of immortality in the soul of a people because they have passed through cramping circumstances and hardening environment; if we ignore altogether recognized honesty and native sagacity—then, indeed, may we properly conclude that politics in Utah is a name without a substance behind it, a shadow without an object before it; but not till then, as the writer is given to see it.

As is herein suggested, the early days of Utah, up to the breaking out of the war of the rebellion, were not characterized by intense interest or strict at-

tention to political methods as they prevailed elsewhere; there was no need, no call for anything different. The elections were a matter of form and the results a matter of course, because there was no opposition and no division of sentiment. The first faint zephyr indicating the coming of a headwind to the easy-sailing craft was in 1862, when, at the election for Delegate to Congress, a little knot of opponents to the powers that were, got together and put up William McGrorty as a candidate against William H. Hooper, the opposition subsequently assuming the name of "The Liberal Party."

Measured as an antagonistic element, the showing made would have been, but for what it portended later on, simply absurd; it was the very point of littleness finely sharpened. Hooper's vote as compared with McGrorty's was as a thousand to one, or nearly so; but the latter was the nucleus around which all elements opposed to the great majority were destined to cluster and increase; lines of opposition had been formed at last and no more forever, while mortality prevails, were the returns for a general election to show a unanimity for any cause or shade of belief. The situation became at once the People's party (the name adopted by the majority) in possession, with the Liberal party as a claimant and contestant.

Things went on in this way for a good while, the gain in the Liberal vote being much greater proportionately than in that of the People. The former

organization spread, its ramifications extending to all the mining camps and the larger towns of the Territory. It carried nothing, however, till in 1874, when it claimed and took possession of the offices in Tooele County, against the earnest protest of the other side who claimed that the Liberal vote in Ophir, East Canyon and Stockton (its strongholds then) had been "padded" to suit the occasion. Be that as it may, possession was taken, after legal proceedings had been invoked, and held for two years. The county was immediately dubbed "the Republic" by the jubilant Liberals and its occupancy by their forces hailed in very much the same spirit as was the capitulation of Vicksburg by the people of the North during the war. It was a short-lived incumbency, however, for when the two years had expired the victors became the vanquished and withdrew from the field, not having returned since. The advent of the Pacific Railway had previously brought the town of Corinne into existence, and while it is now but a fragment of its original and long-time self, it was quite populous for several years and was and is nearly unanimously Liberal, but even this could not outweigh the heavy People's vote in the county outside of Corinne, so the practical advantages gained were *nil*.

During the latter part of the period referred to (early in 1872) and under the influence of an exciting Presidential campaign about to open throughout the land, the leaven of Democracy and Republicanism

which had never left a few of the more irrepressible politicians who came here with it, began to work and its working soon began to show for itself. As the Territory was, and is, entitled to representation in the national conventions of the great parties to the extent of two for each, a few of the more active saw to it that Territorial conventions were called for the purpose of organization and election of such delegates.

Pursuant to the call, the Republicans gathered at the City Hall in Salt Lake City on the 5th of April, 1872. Abram Hatch called the meeting to order and nominated F. D. Richards for chairman, who was elected without opposition; John Nicholson was chosen secretary. A committee on credentials, consisting of S. A. Mann, A. K. Thurber and C. C. Rich was appointed. Their report showed all parts of the Territory represented. Speeches were made by Jonathan Wright, E. N. Whitney and George A. Smith.

The committee on permanent organization and order of business reported, making the temporary organization permanent so far as related to the chairman and secretary, adding several vice chairmen and two assistant secretaries, with J. D. T. McAllister sergeant-at-arms. Frank Fuller and Thomas Fitch were elected delegates to the national convention, with George A. Smith and William Jennings alternates. A Territorial Committee was appointed, containing the following names: S. A. Mann, Daniel H. Wells, Thomas Fitch, Elias Smith, T. F. Tracy, Wil-

liam Jennings, J. W. Young, J. N. Smith, George Peacock, C. C. Rich and F. D. Richards, whereupon, with a little more speechifying, the convention adjourned.

The Liberals ridiculed the proceeding in the *Tribune*, their organ, and out of it, taking ground not at all at variance with that occupied by them to-day; but the seed had been sown that was some day to grow up and ripen into fruit—the fruit of division on national political lines separate and distinct from any form and all forms of ecclesiasticism.

The Democrats flocked to the same hold-forth as their more or less friendly opponents, on the 7th of April, 1872. Dr. H. J. Faust called to order and presented the name of Hadley D. Johnson as chairman, who was chosen in true Democratic fashion—with a rush mingled somewhat with a roar; the chairman made a pointed and felicitous speech which was well punctuated with applause, after which W. C. Waldron and L. S. Hills were elected vice-chairmen, W. C. Campbell, secretary and J. McGonigle assistant secretary. A committee on procedure was appointed, consisting of A. Miner, E. M. Barnum, S. M. Blair, Joseph Gordon, Henry Wagener, S. F. Nuckolls and Joseph Stevens, who retired and then oratory resumed full sway, Thomas P. Akers giving a florid and forcible address. A platform and resolutions were adopted, when more speeches were made, by Barnum, Blair and Miner. A Territorial committee was ap-

pointed, consisting of H. D. Johnson, E. M. Barnum, S. M. Blair, L. E. Riter, William Bringhurst and Joseph Gordon. After the adoption of a resolution calling for organization throughout the Territory, the convention adjourned.

From that time on the parties have maintained their organizations, though at times rather loosely and "out of sight" literally; still, the germ was not destroyed as the present day abundantly shows, since both parties have now conflicting organizations.

On the evening of November 12, 1884, several young men met at the law office of Sheeks & Rawlins, in Salt Lake, and after perfecting a temporary organization, adopted a platform which endorsed that of the preceding national convention and specifically declared in favor of a government by the people; the largest liberty of the citizen consistent with public safety; separation of church and State, both locally and nationally; opposition to a legislative commission; the redeeming of the Territory from the discredit which had been brought upon it; the absolute freedom of the voter; obedience to all laws; fitness for office the test of candidates; and invited all who could subscribe to these doctrines to unite with them. The society was known as the Democratic Club of Utah, and the following officers were chosen: Joseph L. Rawlins, President; Alfales Young, Vice President; John R. Burton, Recording Secretary; George A. Meears, Corresponding Secretary; L. S. Hills, Treas-

urer. As an Executive Committee, A. L. Williams, Chairman; John M. Young, Secretary; C. A. Clark, J. G. Sutherland, Theodore Burmester, Ben Sheeks, F. W. Jennings and J. T. Kingsbury were chosen.

In March, 1885, the Salt Lake *Democrat* was started. Numerous political meetings were held, and at the August election a ticket was placed in the field for Councilors to the Legislative Assembly, consisting of R. C. Chambers, J. L. Rawlins, J. A. Marshall and C. E. Mitchener; for Representatives: W. G. Sharp, J. M. Benedict, A. F. Doremus, A. L. Williams, H. D. Ripeto, and Stephen Hales. For Superintendent of Schools, J. T. Kingsbury, and for Selectman, Bolivar Roberts. The journalistic venture represented by the *Democrat* did not meet with success and "gave up the ghost" after a couple of years' pilgrimage.

In October, 1888, a number of Democrats from various parts of the Territory met in the now historic chambers of the City Hall and organized as a mass convention. There were present, H. D. Johnson, H. J. Faust, F. R. Kenner, S. R. Thurman, W. N. Dusenberry, W. R. Pike, J. M. Benedict, W. K. Reed, S. W. Darke, S. A. Kenner and many others. They adopted a platform and nominated S. R. Thurman for Delegate to Congress. He and his friends made an active canvass, but the time was not ripe and he got but 511 votes. These movers were dubbed the "Sagebrush Democracy" by the Liberals, and they accepted the designation and kept it.

In the month of June, 1890, a meeting was held at the office of Frank H. Dyer (recently deceased) for the purpose of considering the question of again establishing a Democratic journal. Among those present were: John W. Judd, C. W. Barratt, J. B. Walden, A. G. Norrell, George Cullins, H. C. Lett, F. H. Dyer, Henry Barnes, W. H. Casady, Dr. G. M. Freeman, H. T. Duke, A. L. Pollock, W. H. Dale, E. W. Wilson, A. T. Schroeder, A. L. Williams, C. L. Hawley and others. After some consultation a committee was appointed to consider the question of purchasing one of the plants already established or of putting in a new one, resulting in the former action being taken. Prior to this, however, a well-appearing illustrated weekly journal, called the *Utah Democrat*, was issued by S. A. Kenner as editor and J. H. Parry as manager. It is entitled to the credit of fairly "opening the ball," but the subsequent action of the committee in purchasing the Salt Lake *Herald* and making it the party organ, shortened the grass for the *Democrat* to such an extent that it had to let go after a six months' career.

At the same meeting a committee, consisting of J. W. Judd, P. L. Williams, John A. Marshall, J. L. Rawlins and S. A. Merritt, was appointed to consider the question of organizing a Democratic club, and requested to report a declaration of principles, together with suggestions as might be thought best for the proper formation of an association.

Meetings were subsequently held, at which the reports of the above committees were presented and acted upon.

At a session held on the evening of October 1, 1890, there were present H. C. Lett, J. W. Judd, W. H. Casady, W. C. Hall, A. G. Norrell, A. T. Schroeder, W. H. Dale, William Condon, T. L. Bowman, John A. Marshall, C. T. Harte, J. B. Walden, F. H. Dyer, S. H. Lewis, J. W. Whitehead, W. H. Irvine, H. V. Meloy, C. G. Bennett, J. L. Rawlins, J. R. Letcher and C. W. Barratt. H. C. Lett acted as chairman, and A. V. Meloy as secretary.

The following declaration of principles was unanimously adopted.

"1.—We believe that the Government of the United States is a national sovereignty, supreme within its sphere, as delegated and defined in the Constitution, and to that Government our first allegiance is due; and we believe in a willing and loyal obedience to all its laws, and a strict enforcement of the same.

"2.—We believe that the separate States of the Union are sovereign within their sphere, and that upon the preservation of their autonomy depends the benefits of local self government, the liberty of the citizen and the perpetuity of the Union.

"3.—We are opposed to the idea of a centralized or paternal government, believing that the best government is the one that governs least, and as a corollary from this, we believe in the largest liberty of the individual citizen consistent with good government.

"4.—We are opposed to any legislation by the Federal Government which looks to or operates in levying taxes for the benefit of one class at the expense of another; but we believe that the primal idea of all taxes should be revenue, and that confined to the needs of the Government, economically administered.

"5.—We are opposed to any legislation tending to build up monop-

oly, as the result is to make rich the few to the hurt of the many; and we believe that the rule of the Government should be, the greatest good to the greatest number, special privileges to none, equality to all.

"6.—The union of church and State is a violation of the principles of the Constitution and of the Democratic party. Freedom of religious belief and worship must not be questioned, but religion must not be used as a cloak for crime. Interference in politics or government by any church, priesthood or religious organization endangers the peace and welfare of the country and the liberty of the citizen.

The ice was now beginning to break sure enough. It was not very long after this action of the Liberal Democrats, in coming out as the latter element and dropping the former altogether, that Franklin S. Richards, chairman, called the People's County Committee together, and the result of the meeting was, the formal disbandment of the party was effected and promulgated; this was followed, on June 10, 1891, by the dissolution of the Territorial organization in like manner. The latter transaction completing the round of events by which the old was relegated to the past and the new ushered in—the sunburst of the new era in Utah—it would seem proper that the official pronouncement have a place in this record. It was as follows:

"Whereas, a radical change has taken place in the political situation in this Territory; the progressive people of various parties have determined to bury old strifes, to dissolve merely local combinations and to make national questions paramount;

"Whereas, both Democrats and Republicans who formerly united with the so-called Liberal party for

the purpose of overcoming the People's party have severed that connection and have organized under their respective party titles and principles;

"Whereas, each of these organizations has repudiated the "Liberal" policy, designed to destroy the political liberties of the majority of our peoples, and have declared against disfranchisement except for crime determined by due process of law;

"Whereas, they have invited the citizens of Utah, regardless of difference in religious views, to join with them in working for the political redemption of this Territory;

"Whereas, the chief necessity for the existence of the People's party has been the compact union and destructive desires of the "Liberal" faction, which is now in process of reluctant dissolution;

"Whereas, the People's party has always cherished the great principles of popular sovereignty, local self-government and national supremacy in national affairs, which both the great national parties recognize, while differing as to minor matters;

"Whereas, several of the county organizations of the People's party have determined that the time has come when they can safely dissolve their local party associations, and can labor more efficiently both for the welfare of Utah and the growth and glory of the United States by uniting with one or the other of the national parties; and,

"Whereas, it is desirable that the dissensions and

struggles which have heretofore hindered the development and progress of this Territory should be left behind and obliterated in the march of its people toward their high destiny. Now, therefore, be it

“Resolved, that it is the sense of the Territorial Central Committee of the People’s Party of Utah, that the party throughout the Territory should dissolve and leave its members free to unite with the great national parties according to their individual preferences.”

The Democratic Territorial Committee accepted the abnegation in good faith, and on June 21 adopted the following resolutions:

“Whereas, the People’s party, at the desire of its members, by its constituted authorities, has been dissolved and no longer exists; and,

“Whereas, it is the expressed desire of those who formerly composed that party to divide upon national lines in harmony with American politics and methods, and many have already done so by attaching themselves according to their preferences to the Democratic or Republican parties; and,

“Whereas, in Utah, as elsewhere in our country, the Democratic party seeks to enlist the service of every patriotic citizen to secure the triumph of its principles, that the best interests of the whole country may be subserved. Now, therefore, be it

“Resolved, first, that it is the sense of this committee that the Democratic party of Utah accept the

act of the dissolution of the People's party as done in all sincerity and good faith and will give to its former members who may unite with it a cordial welcome. Second, that it rejoices in the belief that we are now entering upon an era of good will, wherein the animosities engendered by past local contentions will be healed and that the people of the Territory, while contending for the supremacy of the national party of their choice, will unitedly work in peace and without bitterness and strife, for the prosperity and happiness of the Territory. Third, that a committee composed of the chairman and three other members of the committee prepare and issue an address to the Democrats of this Territory, calling upon them to unite as one man in an effort to build up the party in Utah."

The first personal friction that occurred between the newly organized or regular Democracy and the Liberals of that faith occurred on April 2, 1892, when the Territorial committee representing the former met in the Constitution Building, this city, pursuant to call, and refused to recognize the latter element; this was headed by O. W. Powers as proxy and all demanded recognition, which was refused and the Liberals withdrew, holding a separate meeting and calling another convention for the election of delegates to the National Convention.

Following were the officers of the straight Democratic organization, all present or represented:

S. A. MERRITT, <i>Chairman</i> ,	Salt Lake
Elias A. Smith, <i>Secretary and Treasurer</i> ,	Salt Lake
J. W. Christian	Beaver
J. D. Peters	Box Elder
W. H. Smith	Box Elder
G. W. Thatcher	Cache
A. G. Barber	Cache
Noble Warrum, Jr.	Cache
T. J. Brandon	Davis
J. C. Robbins	Emery
W. P. Sargent	Garfield
Wm. Davenport	Iron
Homer Bouton	Kane
J. A. Melville	Millard
William Rex	Rich
S. A. Merritt	Salt Lake
F. S. Richards	Salt Lake
P. L. Williams	Salt Lake
LeGrand Young	Salt Lake
B. B. Quinn	Salt Lake
J. T. Caine	Salt Lake
C. W. West	Salt Lake
O. P. Miller	Salt Lake
C. M. Neilson	Salt Lake
H. P. Henderson	Salt Lake
W. T. Reid	Sanpete
Peter Greaves	Sanpete
John Carter	Sanpete
John Boyden	Summit
J. E. Bromley	Summit
C. L. Anderson	Tooele
Lycurgus Johnson	Uintah
Julius Hannbere	Utah
M. M. Kellogg	Utah
W. H. King	Utah
L. P. Lund	Utah
R. A. Deal	Utah

Harmon Cummings	Wasatch
Isaac McFarlane	Washington
J. W. McNutt	Weber
R. W. Cross	Weber
C. C. Richards	Weber
H. W. Smith	Weber
W. V. Helfrich	Weber

The officers of the Liberal Democracy are as follows:

WILLIAM M. FERRY, <i>Chairman</i> ,	Park City
Harry T. Duke, <i>Secretary</i> ,	Salt Lake City
John Shields	Salt Lake City
S. W. Mosby	Salt Lake City
John Farish	Salt Lake City
S. H. Lewis	Salt Lake City
Henry Barnes	Salt Lake City
Martin Larman	Salt Lake City
W. C. Hall	Salt Lake City
E. D. Hoge	Salt Lake City

The Democrats having set the pace, the Republicans were not long in following suit. A called meeting was held in the Theatre on May 20th, at which divisionists and anti-divisionists appeared in strong array and about equal numbers. C. W. Bennett was chairman, and H. G. McMillan secretary. A number of speeches for and against the movement were made, the latter being rather ill-tempered and sarcastic; among the former were John Henry Smith, John M. Zane, Frank J. Cannon, L. B. Stephens and Ben E. Rich; and among the other side, C. E. Allen, W. H. Dickson and one or two others. A vote was taken on

the question at issue, the Liberals voting "no" in a body, and making a pretty big showing, but the chairman declared it carried, and the meeting broke up amid much confusion and no little ill feeling.

Some time after this a convention was called for the purpose of formally organizing the party in Utah, and it met at the Federal court room in this city on September 2, 1892, at which the work in hand was speedily and satisfactorily accomplished. The following Territorial Central Committee was elected:

C. W. BENNETT, <i>Chairman</i> ,	Salt Lake
Harmel Pratt, <i>Secretary</i> ,	Salt Lake
N. Treweek, <i>Treasurer</i> ,	Salt Lake
J. W. Cox	Beaver
E. A. Box	Box Elder
J. C. Knowles	Cache
J. T. Mabey	Davis
Orange Seeley	Emery
J. F. Chidester	Garfield
R. W. Heyborn	Iron
Alma Hague	Juab
John Rider	Kane
G. M. Hanson	Millard
T. R. G. Welch	Morgan
Charles Morrill	Piute
W. K. Walton	Rich
Geo. M. Cannon	Salt Lake
Vacancy	San Juan
A. H. Lund	Sanpete
W. H. Clark	Sevier
Alma Eldredge	Summit
A. C. Shields	Tooele
L. Holbrook	Utah
Colton Sterling	Uintah

Thomas S. Watson	Wasatch
A. R. Heywood	Weber
Vacancy	Washington

The officers of the Liberal Republicans are as follows:

V. B. DOLLIVER, <i>Chairman</i> ,	Salt Lake City
Joseph R. Morris, <i>Secretary</i> ,	Salt Lake City
J. C. Conklin, <i>Treasurer</i> ,	Salt Lake City
M. M. Kaighn	Salt Lake City
Harry Haines	Murray
J. J. Greenewald	Salt Lake City
John Butter	Bingham

The Liberal Party's officers for the Territory are O. W. Powers, chairman, and C. E. Allen, secretary; the committeemen (whose names could not be obtained at the last hour) being variously assigned.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN ON THE NEW LINES.

The "raw and undisciplined forces," as some scoffers were pleased to call the newly-fledged political element in Utah, were placed in the fore-front of an important and protracted battle in the incipency of their lately born career. A Legislature was to be chosen along with a few county officers (in August, 1891), and realizing intuitively what a dogged and disciplined resistance would be made by the Liberals, the two branches of the national organizations were brought measurably closer together than would otherwise have been the case; that is, they could not, for mutual protection, divide against each other diametrically as they do elsewhere and would have done here under other circumstances; but expended a part of their ammunition unitedly upon the common opponent and the remainder upon each other; in the midst of the family row, the wolf must still be kept from the door. The primaries were called early; the formal organizations took place, and the county or district conventions followed in short order. Republican and Democratic tickets were nominated in every place and Liberal in all but a few, and the campaign opened during the full flush and heyday of the heated term. An array of speakers equal in point of numbers to any that ever appeared before the public in a

similar capacity and within the same scope of territory, made the welkin ring and the ambient air lurid from the Idaho line to Arizona and between and close up to the State borders on the East and West. For several weeks the "campaign of education," which embraced as well the usual scramble for the loaves and fishes, raged and tossed; the flood of oratory maintained its noisy, frothy, turbulent sway, and audiences large, small and medium, were held spell-bound and otherwise in accordance with their temper and the orator's capability. Of course these batteries of vocal artillery were not composed entirely of heavy or long-range guns, but for beginners they maintained an *esprit du corps* and performed strategic and fatigue movements equal to veterans; and some of them were experienced, profound, logical and argumentative, as eloquent as Herodotus and as convincing as Socrates. Let us name a few of the more conspicuous:

On the Republican side were—

C. W. Bennett, an eminent lawyer and fluent speaker, with no reputation as a statesman because he has not permitted his great abilities to run in that direction;

Frank J. Cannon, the Warwick of the West—handsome, graceful, and as incisive as a Minie ball;

Arthur Brown, one of the ablest among the noted criminal attorneys of the Territory;

Ben. E. Rich, a prosperous merchant enjoying an

immense clientele of friends among people of all shades of opinion;

E. M. Allison, Jr., Assistant U. S. Attorney at Ogden and a rising young man;

Judge Miller, whose humor and sarcasm never fail to bring down the house;

John Henry Smith, an able and influential speaker and very much in love with his party;

John M. Zane, assistant U. S. Attorney, a bright lawyer and fine speaker;

L. B. Stephens, Assistant U. S. Attorney, a recognized "stayer" and popular speaker;

E. B. Critchlow, who does not appear as often as some of the others, but makes an excellent impression when he does;

James Devine, a citizen of sterling qualities with a voice suggestive of the day of wrath—a fine talker;

Judge Bartch, of the Probate Court;

Heber M. Wells, a popular and able man;

Barlow Ferguson, Harmel Pratt, John M. Cannon and several others of this city;

Ex-Mayor Booth, A. G. Sutherland, Jr., and others of Provo;

C. C. Goodwin and others of Cache County; and many unnamed and impracticable to name—constituted a working force whose merits were recognized if not rewarded in the campaign.

Among the prominent Democrats who "made Rome howl" were:

J. L. Rawlins, the legal Cicero of Utah:

H. P. Henderson, one of the easiest and most effective speakers in the country:

P. L. Williams, logician and lawyer, at the head of his class;

W. H. King, good looking, well educated and a thorough rhetorician:

Franklin S. and Charles C. Richards (brothers), lawyers of prominence and great ability and eloquent and untiring expounders of the Democratic faith;

Prof. J. H. Paul, a learned, fluent and convincing speaker, with a great array of tariff facts and figures always at his tongue's end.

James H. Moyle, an earnest and capable speaker.

Hon. John T. Caine, Delegate to Congress, who goes wherever he can do any good and generally succeeds in doing it;

A. G. Norrell, a regular "war horse," who never permits an audience to get weary;

S. A. Merritt, formerly chairman of the Territorial committee, a good speaker, but does not appear often;

J. W. Judd approaches more nearly, perhaps, to the typical stump speaker, than any other man in the business;

R. W. Young, a careful, studious and popular speaker;

Waldemar Van Cott, young, earnest, untiring and incisive.

A. T. Schroeder, an all-round talker who entertains an audience in good style;

C. W. West, a vigorous and logical exponent of Democracy and popular rights.

H. W. Smith, John A. Boyle, H. H. Rolapp, of Ogden; D. D. Houtz, A. D. Gash and J. T. Milner, of Provo; H. C. Lett, LeGrand Young, J. A. Williams, J. A. Timmony, J. H. Hurd, S. W. Darke, William Fuller, and Wm. Condon, of Salt Lake;

R. W. Sloan, of Logan;

W. K. Reid and Joseph Judd, of Manti;

W. P. Sargent of Panguitch,

And many others deserve special mention, but opportunity forbids. As a mere matter of record, it might be proper to say that the writer appeared before the public as a "stumper" forty-onē times in thirty-three different places during that campaign.

The Liberals are well equipped in the matter of oratorical timber and used it unsparingly from the opening gun to the last bivouac. O. W. Powers, C. C. Goodwin, J. N. Kimball, W. H. Dickson, C. S. Varian, C. E. Allen, R. N. Baskin, W. M. Ferry, E. P. Ferry, M. M. Kaighn, H. W. Lawrence, J. A. Marshall and a large number of others well known throughout the country, rendered yeoman service to their party and were rewarded with the "second money" in the contest.

The result of this campaign was the election by the Democrats of exactly a two-thirds majority in

each branch of the Legislature, the Liberals capturing all the remainder. The work accomplished by this body is already before the public and familiar to all readers, so it needs no further reference here.

During the latter days of the Legislature an unpleasant surprise for the Democracy took place in the shape of a decided Republican majority in the Logan City election. This was followed by another in Mount Pleasant and another in Smithfield, the majorities in both the latter cases, however, being rather light. All of the places had formerly gone the other way, and the cause of their "perverseness" is, at the present writing, a matter of more or less conjecture among the "unterrified."

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE GREAT CONVENTION AT OGDEN.

The Democratic party of the Territory having held what was concededly the largest and most important gathering of the kind ever held in Utah before the forms were closed on this book, it is deemed proper to make an extended mention of it; it being in the nature of political information, no apology is needed for so doing.

The convention was held in the Grand Opera House, Ogden, Saturday, May 14, and consisted nominally of 500 delegates, though there were some few absentees; these, however, were more than made up by alternates, a large number of whom were in attendance.*

After a temporary organization had been effected, with A. G. Norrell, chairman, and E. A. Smith, secretary, a recess was taken till 2:30, at which time the convention reassembled but was not called to order till about 3, as one or two of the committees were a little behind with their work. The bands played lively airs in the meantime, and at the hour named Mr. Norrell, temporary chairman, announced that as the committees were still unready, Hon. David Evans would make a speech. That gentleman, on taking the platform, was received with applause. He spoke very briefly, and concluded by calling for Hon. Moses Thatcher, who shortly appeared and was received with a perfect hurricane of applause and cheers, lasting about a minute. The speech occupied about half an hour in delivery, and even were we to give it entire, the cold type would do it injustice; only those who know of the gentleman's oratorical ability, his scholarly diction and rhetorical climaxes could then form even an idea of its effectiveness; it needed a personal

*The account of the proceedings from this point on is mainly from the report of the *Deseret News*. Nearly all the dailies of Salt Lake and Ogden had excellent accounts, but that of the *News* is selected because more condensed and that paper is avowedly non-partisan.

hearing for its full measure and capacity to be realized. His announcement that he was a Democrat was received with a genuine Democratic hurrah, and as he proceeded to explain why he was one, giving the details of his political faith *in extenso*, the recognition given by the listeners was that of unmistakable appreciation and as demonstrative as is customary with the "unterrified." The speech was relieved here and there with florid figures of speech and telling metaphor, all of which were caught up and huzzahed over until it seemed at times as if the agents of Pandemonium were holding an unrestrained council. At the close the demonstration amounted to a furore which increased as the chairman vainly tried to make an announcement, and the audience would not let go till the orator arose and bowed his acknowledgments.

The committee on credentials then reported, and to save time the reading of the names was dispensed with.

The committee on permanent organization and order of business then reported the following:

Chairman—W. H. King, Utah County.

Vice Chairman—Moses Thatcher, Cache County.

Vice Chairman—David Evans, Weber County.

Vice Chairman—Henry Siegel, Salt Lake County.

Secretary—E. A. Smith, Salt Lake County.

Asst. Secretary—A. J. Webber, Weber County.

Sergeant-at-Arms—George T. Bean, Sevier Co.

Order of business—Report of committee on platform and resolutions.

Election of two delegates to the National Democratic Convention at Chicago.

Election of two alternates.

Election of a Territorial central committee.

The report was unanimously adopted and Mr. King was seated amid applause. On taking the chair he made a few remarks, the concluding words of which were well received.

The following telegrams were read by Colonel Merritt:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 12.

Hon. S. A. Merritt:

Congratulations and best wishes for re-united Democracy of Utah.

J. G. CARLISLE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 14.

Hon. Chas. C. Richards, Democratic convention, Ogden, Utah:

My hearty congratulations to Democracy of Utah. May your counsels tend to unity and supremacy of party, both in country and in your Territory.

WILLIAM L. WILSON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 13.

To Hon. F. S. Richards, Ogden, Utah:

A limb of the itinerancy sends greeting to true Democracy of Utah.

W. D. BYNUM.

WASHINGTON, May 14.

Chairman Democratic convention, Ogden, Utah:

Tender my greetings to Utah's assembled Democracy. Assure them I shall do all that mortal can to give Utah at the earliest day practicable that local self-government guaranteed by our Constitution and by Democracy to every community.

J. E. WASHINGTON,

Chairman House Committee on Territories.

WASHINGTON, May 13.

Hon. S. A. Merritt, Democratic convention, Ogden, Utah:

Kindly greetings to the Democrats of Utah. May your convention be guided by wisdom and harmony and give fresh strength to the cause in the battle for pure Democracy and free government for Utah. Have assurances that the Home Rule bill will be taken up by the House soon after the appropriation bills are disposed of. Don't be discouraged; Home Rule is not dead, only sleeping.

JOHN T. CAINE.

SALT LAKE, U. T., May 14, 1892.

Hon. Moses Thatcher, Democratic convention:

Find it impossible to come. God speed ye.

B. H. ROBERTS.

The committee on platform and resolutions asked for more time.

The chairman then announced that the election of delegates to Chicago was next in order.

Colonel Lett, in a speech which took universally, nominated Henry P. Henderson. He took occasion to refer to the "cross breeds" of Indians in Utah, and said Mexico was the place for all such roving depredators.

Judge Henderson was so evidently the choice of the house that the rules were suspended and he was chosen by acclamation. Messrs. Lett, Gash and Norrell were sent after Judge Henderson, and in the meantime J. L. Rawlins was called for. He made a brief but thoughtful speech, which was loudly applauded.

Judge Henderson here entered and was introduced by Chairman King amid applause. He said he accepted the trust with pride, and he would go to

Chicago and say that he was proud to represent a people whom he knew would vote the Democratic ticket and no other. The Chicago Convention would name the man who would be President of the United States for the next four years. Whoever was named from the bright array of names would receive the support of Utah Democracy. The Judge said he was particularly proud to be chosen in Ogden, because the great movement in Utah started in Weber County. The Democracy of Weber might well feel proud as they looked over this convention to-day. He made an earnest plea for Home Rule.

For the second place, Judge Dusenberry arose to nominate W. H. King, of Utah County, as a gentleman representing one of the banner counties of Democracy.

Le Grand Young, in a thoughtful speech, nominated J. L. Rawlins.

Prof. J. H. Paul said that the man whom he was about to nominate was a man the people loved. He was a man who had worked for the people and was a Democrat, every inch of him. After an eloquent speech he placed in nomination Hon. Moses Thatcher.

Mr. Thatcher, in a few remarks, most positively declined, and his name was withdrawn.

Hon. John T. Caine was then put in nomination by several delegations.

A ballot was taken, the roll being called, but before the vote was announced all the gentlemen named

withdrew, and Mr. Caine's election was made unanimous.

W. H. King, of Provo, and H. W. Smith, of Ogden, were elected alternates.

It was now time for the second recess, but before it was taken, S. A. Kenner arose and said: "Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee on resolutions be requested by this body to incorporate in the platform an instruction to the delegates elected to the Chicago Convention to then and there vote for the nomination of Grover Cleveland for President of the United States."

Several delegates shouted "No! No!" and the chair was about to pass it by, saying he heard no second. At once several delegates seconded the motion vociferously, but it did not prevail.

Recess till 8 p.m., at which time the platform was read. It was as follows:

The Democratic party of Utah, in convention assembled, hereby adopt the following platform and resolutions:

First—We believe that the Government of the United States is a national sovereignty supreme within its sphere as delegated and defined in the Constitution, and to that Government our first allegiance is due; and we believe in a willing and loyal obedience to all its laws and a strict enforcement of the same.

Second—We believe that the several States of

the Union are sovereign within their sphere, and upon the preservation of their autonomy depends the benefit of local self-government, the liberty of the citizen and the perpetuity of the Union.

Third—We are opposed to the idea of a centralized or paternal government, believing that the best government is the one that governs the least; and, therefore, we believe in the largest liberty to the individual citizen consistent with good government.

Fourth—We are opposed to any legislation by the Federal Government which looks to or operates in levying taxes for the benefit of any one class at the expense of any other, but we believe that the primal idea of all taxes should be revenue, and that confined to the needs of the Government economically administered.

Fifth—We are opposed to any legislation tending to build up monopoly, as the result is to make rich the few to the hurt of the many, and we believe that the rule of government should be the greatest good to the greatest number; special privileges to none; equality to all.

Sixth—We are unalterably opposed to force and fraud in the conduct of elections or to any interference with them by extraneous power or means. The Constitution of the United States should not be vitiated by make-shift legislation to facilitate party advantage.

Seventh—We favor the full restoration of silver

to the position it occupied in our national currency before its demonetization by the Republican party.

Eighth—That the course of the Democratic majority in the last Legislative Assembly of Utah is commended by this convention for its efforts in behalf of good government, as wise and patriotic in protecting the rights of taxpayers and in opposing all class legislation in the shape of bounties.

Ninth—That this convention unqualifiedly condemns the report of the minority of the House committee on Territories made by the Republican members of that committee for the reason that the same is false so far as it pretends to state facts. It is slanderous in so far as it seeks to throw discredit on the people of this Territory. It is infamous in that it proposes to continue the present system of mis-government in this Territory. It deserves only the condemnation of all self-respecting citizens of this Territory.

Whereas, the people of Utah are vexed and oppressed by the most cruel system of government which has ever existed in the history of America. As proof of this let the facts be stated, that our fellow citizens of the Union may realize our helpless condition.

Our elections are held under the direct supervision of five men who are neither citizens nor residents of the Territory, but of States at a distance of from one thousand to fifteen hundred miles from us.

We are not allowed to appoint a single registrar

of voters, nor a single judge or clerk at an election poll.

We cannot elect a justice of the peace nor a constable and commission him to perform the duties of his office without the intervention of the Utah Commission.

Our judges are appointed and sent to us from abroad, and no application or petition from us to the appointing power receives even passing notice.

Our Governor is appointed and sent to us from abroad. He possesses no competent knowledge of our people or their affairs so as to fit him for the high office which he holds. He possesses an absolute veto upon all the laws passed by our representatives, and as an evidence that he holds no sympathy with the people, he arbitrarily and in a most reckless manner exercises the veto power, even to paralyzing the just efforts of the Legislature in exhibiting to the world the great resources of our Territory; therefore, be it

Resolved, first, We demand that these evils which so sorely vex us be put away from our people, and that we be accorded that measure of liberty enjoyed by our fellow citizens of all parts of our common country.

Resolved, second, That every condition necessary to the full exercise of local self-government exists in Utah, and that we are entitled at this time to full fellowship in the family of American States, and that in the meantime, until Statehood can be accomplished, we demand that the Home Rule bill now pending in

Congress be passed in order that we may be relieved in some measure of the vicious and un-American system of Territorial government now existing

Resolved, third, That we are unwilling any longer to see any portion of our fellow citizens deprived of the privileges of an American citizen by disfranchisement, when it has long since been agreed on all sides that no reason exists therefor, and when they have made most respectful petition to the President for relief, and have given to him the most indubitable proof of their entire good faith; we therefore most respectfully but earnestly urge upon the Executive to relieve our people from such disabilities by granting to them unconditional amnesty.

Resolved, fourth, That we invite all citizens who may be disfranchised, and who sympathize with the principles of the Democratic party, to join us and take full part in our work of building up the Democratic party in Utah, and we pledge ourselves to give to all such a hearty welcome, and to use every honorable effort in our power to relieve them of their disabilities.

Resolved, fifth, Whereas, while we accept, as made in sincerity, the declaration of the President of the dominant church that the church will not, in any form, interfere in political matters, it is a fact that the Republican party and persons in its interest have used ecclesiastical influence to further their political ends, and have falsely pretended to members of said church that it is the wish of their church that they should

vote the Republican ticket. We, therefore, denounce such political methods as dishonest, contrary to the spirit of our institutions which require the absolute separation of church and State and as a dangerous menace to the liberties of our people.

The following Territorial Central Committee was then chosen:

Beaver—John Ward Christian.

Box Elder—R. H. Beatty, William Rowe.

Cache—George W. Thatcher, Charles H. Hart,
E. H. Owen.

Davis—D. J. Brandon.

Emery—L. P. Oberson.

Garfield—W. P. Sargent.

Juab—George C. Whitmore.

Millard—James A. Melville.

Morgan—Samuel Francis, Sr.

Pioche—L. G. Long.

Rich—Anson Call.

Salt Lake—I. M. Waddell, F. S. Fernstrom, W.
C. A. Smoot, E. A. Smith, B. B. Quinn, H. C. Lett,
A. G. Norrell, Caleb W. West, F. S. Richards, J. B.
Walden.

Sanpete—W. W. Woodring, Peter Greaves, P.
H. Madsen.

Summitt—John Boyden, James E. Bromley.

Sevier—Isaac K. Wright.

Tooele—Thomas H. Nix.

Uintah—R. S. Collett.

Washington—Thomas Judd.

Wasatch—William Buys.

Wayne—W. E. Robinson.

Weber—A. J. Webber, O. J. Swenson, C. C.

Richards, J. G. Tyler, John A. Boyle.

Utah—J. D. Irvine, W. N. Dusenberry, R. A.

Deal, A. J. Evans, George W. Shores.

The big convention concluded with "Three cheers for Democracy and Grover Cleveland" that fairly shook the rafters in the building, and the audience dispersed to the strains of "Dixie" by the band.

After the convention, the central committee met and elected C. C. Richards chairman and E. A. Smith secretary. Executive committee—H. C. Lett, A. G. Norrell, W. W. Woodring, J. G. Tyler, R. A. Deal, G. W. Shores, F. S. Richards.

THE LATEST CONVENTION.

The bars having been thrown down for the class of matter contained so far in this chapter, must be kept in that position until the last form is on the press. This brings in the principal features of the Liberal Republican Territorial convention held in the Theatre in this city on Wednesday, May 18. C. S. Varian was elected temporary and then permanent chairman, and Henry Page secretary. The speeches and proceedings generally were in accordance with the stand taken by that organization, full mention of which appears in a preceding chapter. The following platform was adopted unanimously :

The Republicans of Utah, through their Territorial convention, duly called by the only regularly constituted authorities, once more declare their full allegiance to the principles of the Republican party; they exult over its achievements in the past; they believe the country will advance or recede in the ratio that those principles shall be retained or repudiated.

We believe in a protective tariff; we believe in the highest possible wages for labor; that skilled labor should be encouraged and multiplied until our country can produce any needed thing, both in peace and war. We are grateful for the placing of reasonable duties on foreign lead; we denounce the efforts now being made to remove those duties.

We believe in the full restoration of silver as money of ultimate redemption, side by side with gold, even as it was during the first eighty years of the Republic.

We denounce the passage of a bill through the House of Representatives removing the duty from wool.

As we rejoiced over the laws giving a bounty to American-made sugar, with like fervor we denounce the act of the majority in the last Utah Legislature in striking down that bounty.

For twenty years the Republican party of Utah has fought what in the Mormon Church has been a danger to the public and a menace to the American home. It has made that battle without malice, but always with the hope that with advancing light the Mormon Church and people would throw off what is un-American in their institution. Waiving the matter of polygamy, we see no sign of sincere yielding of the Church in political affairs; the rule of the Church has never been relinquished. Hence, we thank the majority of the House Committee on Territories for the report against Home Rule for Utah, as submitted by its chairman, Hon. George D. Perkins.

Loyal citizens have worked for twenty years side by side in Utah, waiving all differences for the common weal, and we denounce the transparent conspiracy which has drawn a small faction away from

their former allegiance while the menace and danger still remain

We exult over the triumphs of the Harrison administration at home and abroad; its adjustment of the tariff; its admission of the new glorious States of the North; its handling of the Chilian difficulties and the Bering Sea troubles; for its policy of reciprocity; and for the hope held out that the silver question will soon be settled on lines of justice.

We rejoice over the campaign of education now in progress in Utah; we are in full touch with moving events, and look joyously forward to the time when young Utah, disenthralled, shall, in the face of a tyrannical creed, put on the full robes of Americans.

This convention, representing many thousand loyal Utah Republicans, endorses the action of the Territorial Republican Committee in removing certain members who attempted to revolutionize the party in the Territory, and it denies the authority of a minority of the National Republican Committee to give recognition to the Mormon Republican party of Utah.

It protests against a representation for Utah on the National Committee by a resident of another State, and instructs its delegates and their alternates to respectfully but firmly present these views to the National Convention.

And as the convention of the only Republican organization in Utah, it further instructs its delegates

and their alternates to insist upon no compromise in the adjustment of the differences arising because of the contesting delegation.

C. C. GOODWIN,
V. B. DOLLIVER,
W. J. SNYDER,
A. G. SUTHERLAND,
C. F. RATHBONE,
M. M. KAIGHN,
W. H. SNELLING,
M. A. BREEDEN,
Committee.

CHAS. S. VARIAN, at large.

The following Territorial Committee was elected:

Salt Lake—C. S. Varian, W. G. Van Horne,
Joseph R. Morris, S. P. Armstrong, Harry Haynes.

Summit—A. B. Emery, J. H. Rogers.

Weber—R. T. Pettingill, George Murphy.

Utah—H. M. Dougall.

Morgan—R. Olsen.

Cache—W. H. Snelling.

Box Elder—J. W. Guthrie.

Juab—C. F. Rathbone.

Davis—A. L. Backman.

Tooele—D. B. Stover.

* * * * *

This brings us to the close of the volume. That it may be the means of helping even a little in the

great work of political education at home and elsewhere, this in turn to bring us all, sooner or later, upon the same plane of political standing that nearly all the rest of the Nation's subjects occupy, is the writer's chief hope regarding it and them. The long-time qualifications of Utah for Statehood need but little augmentation to be irresistible, and this will come most readily through a universal political education equal to the people's other acquirements. The day cannot long be deferred; the dawn is at hand.



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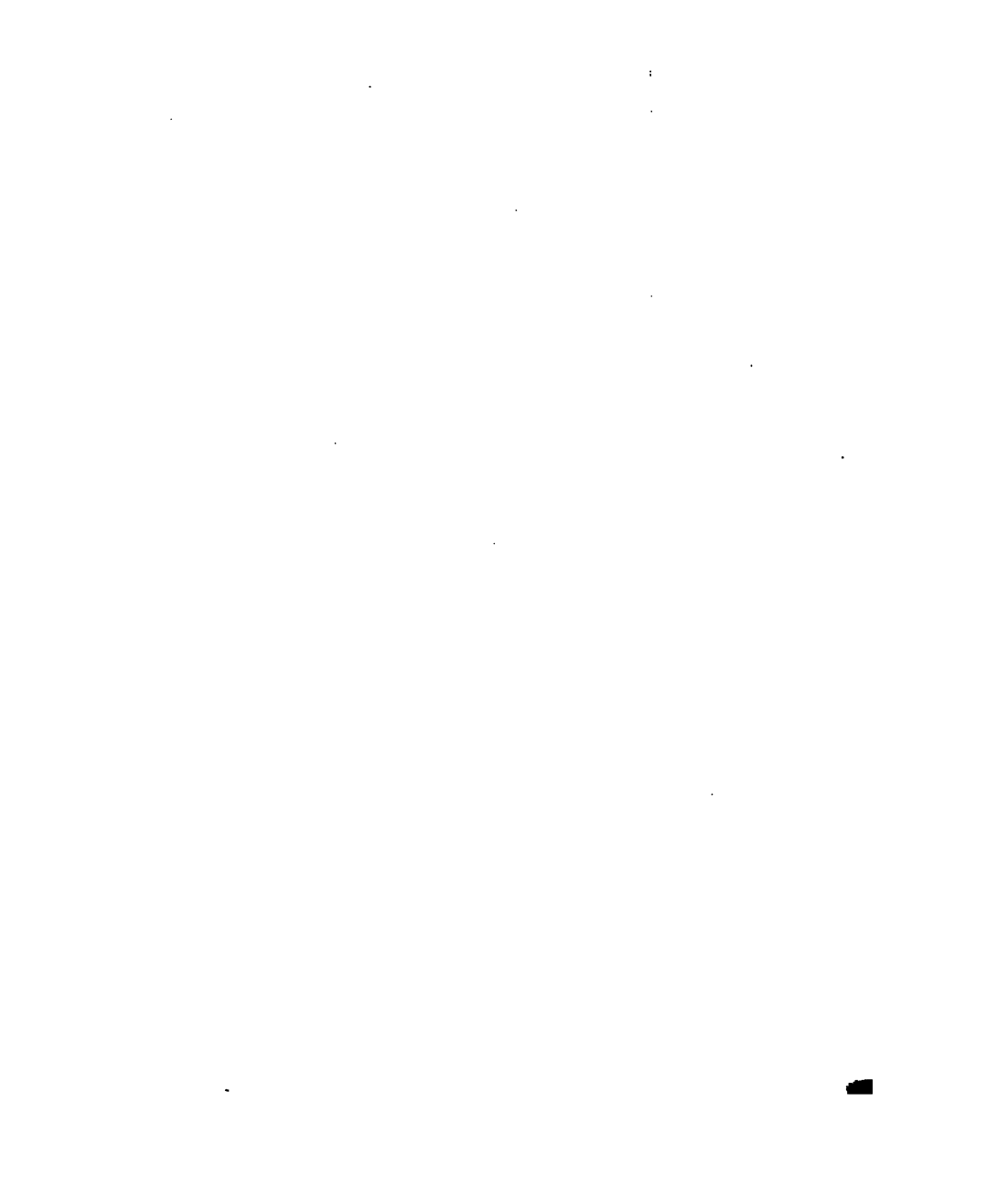
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CORRECTION.—In the 7th line from the top on page 132, for "1862," read "1866."

ADDENDUM.—On page 127, after the paragraph beginning "Speaker," insert "Spellbinder—a stump orator of more or less ability and influence."









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